

JWEL PROJECT NO. NFS09900

**CARBONEAR ISLAND
ARCHIVAL RESEARCH PROJECT**

JUNE 2004

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ARCHIVAL RESEARCH PROJECT**

PREPARED FOR

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June 2004

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 2003 and 2004, Jacques Whitford Environment Limited conducted archival research into the long-standing use and occupancy of Carbonear Island as a place of defence, seasonal fishing “room” and navigational light station. The work was completed for Facilities Design Group Inc. as part of a development strategy being prepared for that area of Conception Bay. Focussing on a review of original correspondence, maps, plans and photographs, substantial material covering the period 1690s to c.1950 was obtained from archives in St. John’s, Ottawa, London, and Paris. A number of informants were also contacted and interviewed, and a field reconnaissance of Carbonear Island was completed. The combined results of the research will be used as input to the strategy being prepared by Facilities Design Group Inc.

Starting as early as the seventeenth century, when the over-wintering population of Newfoundland was still relatively low, inhabitants of the principal fishing communities from Ferryland in the south to as far north as Bonavista established temporary, makeshift fortifications on islands and defensible headlands where they could retreat to in times of conflict between Britain and France in their ongoing effort to gain control of the lucrative fisheries. It was felt by the British government at the time that the many scattered settlements along the coast were indefensible and expendable, with the migratory and naval fleets being the only reliable means of defence of the industry. Consequently, the earliest fortifications were “civilian” in nature, erected by the planters themselves with little or no official sanction or support from the Crown.

The earliest confirmed reference to the use of Carbonear Island for civilian defence purposes dates to the winter of 1696/97, when 300 individuals from the area (a number which may be high) were reported to have established temporary facilities to secure themselves and their “effects” against attack from French soldiers and allies under the command of Pierre Le Moyne d’Iberville. Despite a number of attempts by the enemy to land, all efforts proved unsuccessful. Ultimately, they departed for Placentia, after having destroyed most of the communities and fisheries infrastructure in Conception Bay. Over the course of the conflict, d’Iberville caused extensive damage in English Newfoundland. He burned over 30 settlements, killed approximately 200 settlers and took some 700 prisoners, 400 of whom were transported to augment the populations of Quebec & Acadia (Ransom 2000).

In the early eighteenth century, during Queen Anne’s War (notably in 1705), French troops again attempted to overtake Carbonear Island after residents had retreated there following the outbreak of hostilities. Even though the resident population of Newfoundland during that period was still largely responsible for their own security and the protection of the fishery, the Crown was providing an increasing degree of assistance in the form of arms. Correspondence indicates that approximately 130 people from the area resided on Carbonear Island during the winter of 1711, a number that may represent a reasonable average for the entire conflict. Despite considerable efforts to overtake the

island, similar to the previous war, all proved unsuccessful; a fact that speaks volumes to the ease with the island could be defended.

The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 brought relative stability to Newfoundland and little is known about the use of Carbonear Island during that time. It is reasonable to suspect, though, that similar to other temporary civilian fortifications, those on the island, no longer being required, rapidly fell into an advanced state of disrepair. There is a strong probability, however, that it continued to be used for the seasonal fishery and for small-scale agriculture.

The outbreak of war in the 1740s saw a resurgence of activity and, for the first time, a number of facilities were designed and constructed on the island by the Board of Ordnance under the direction of Royal Engineers, thus marking a notable transition in the way government viewed protection of the Newfoundland fishery. Similar works were also constructed at Ferryland and Trinity, Trinity Bay. Included on Carbonear Island were: a Barracks and Quarters; Provisions Storehouse and Magazine, as well as two five-gun Batteries of 18-pound cannon. In 1762, when the French ravaged a number of the principal fishing communities along the east coast of Newfoundland, the facilities on Carbonear Island were entirely destroyed, along with a number of privately owned buildings, possibly used a part of a fishing room. It was reported that several of the canon at the two batteries were thrown over the cliff into the sea where they remain to this day. This notable event marked the end of the use of Carbonear Island for defence purposes. During the American Revolution of the 1770s and the War of 1812, fortifications were established at Carbonear and Harbour Grace.

In 1878, a lighthouse and residence for year-round occupancy was erected on the northeast end of Carbonear Island and was maintained until c. 1927, when it was demolished. Subsequently, an automated light station was installed, which is still used to this day.

Although brief, the field reconnaissance of Carbonear Island proved extremely useful. The remains of several eighteenth century structures associated with the military history were assessed and plotted on a site plan. The state of preservation of these remains was determined to be good and no unauthorized excavation was noted. A number of nineteenth century structures associated with the lighthouse built in 1878 were also investigated, as were other features and areas on the island that have significant historic resources potential. Included, for example, could be a pre-European, Aboriginal occupation, as well as evidence of an early fishery and materials related to the seventeenth century French attacks.

It is evident from the archival and field data that Carbonear Island is a historic site of considerable significance with a long-standing and diverse past. Therefore, if development is proposed, a comprehensive site mapping and targeted archaeological sampling project aimed at compiling an accurate record of the resource and the overall nature and extent of the occupation should be completed prior to and in conjunction with project planning and implementation. This would enhance and

supplement existing data and help facilitate a precise and all-inclusive interpretative strategy for the visiting public.

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1.0 BACKGROUND

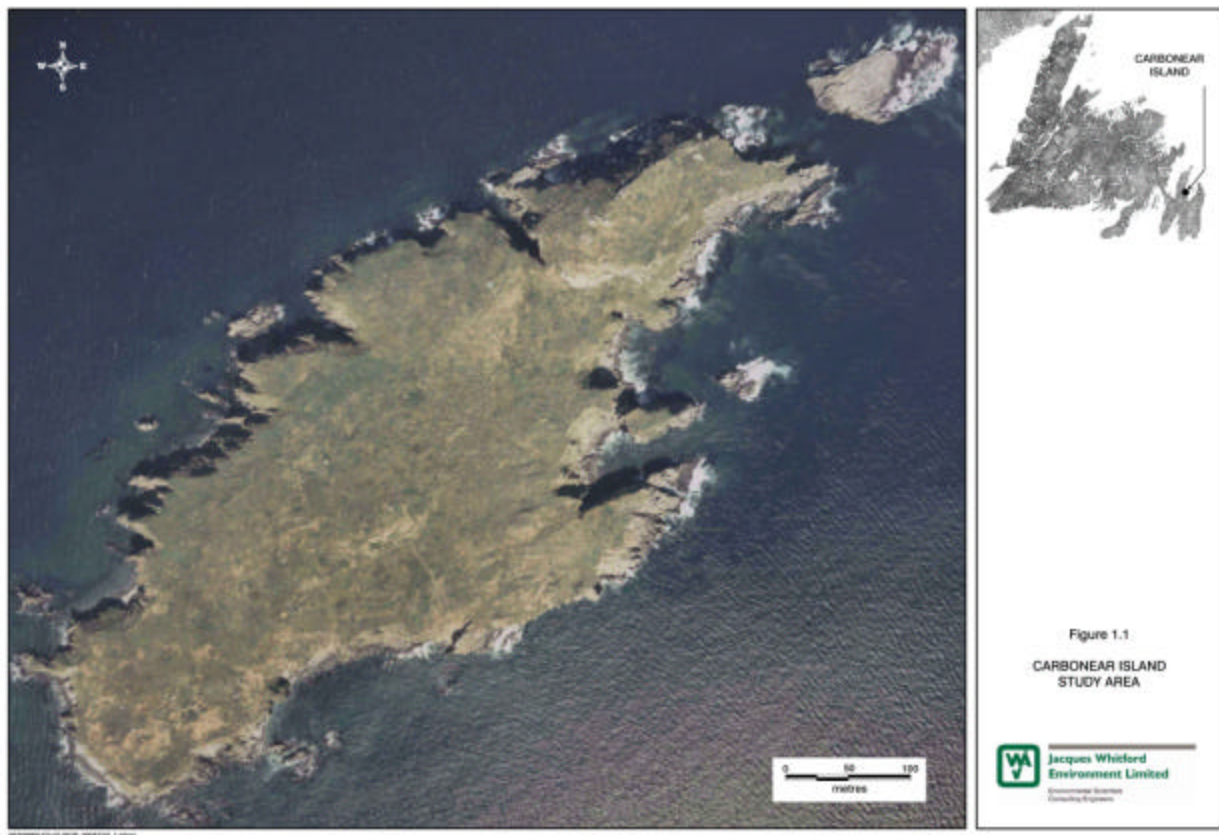
1.1 Work-Scope and Objectives

In April of 2003, Mariner Resources Opportunities Network Inc. (M-RON) called for proposals from qualified consultants to undertake a comprehensive study of the potential development opportunities for Carbonear Island and area of Conception Bay between Freshwater and Harbour Grace (Figure 1.1). Included in the project work-scope would be the design and delivery of a detailed conceptual plan and schedule for implementation. Because Carbonear Island has long been recognized by federal and provincial agencies and the general public as a historic site of considerable significance, and any existing ruins or structural elements could form the basis of a future development strategy, a comprehensive review of correspondence, maps, plans and photographs related to its overall use and occupancy as a place of defence, seasonal fishing “room” and navigational light station was considered essential. Once into the research, however, it became evident that in addition to an evaluation of primary and secondary source material, a field reconnaissance of Carbonear Island would be critical from the point of view of locating and assessing any obvious physical remains associated with the island’s past and identifying other areas of historic resources potential not indicated on site mapping. Moreover, it would provide an opportunity to gauge the accuracy and degree of confidence that could be placed in the military and civilian correspondence and drawings. The combined results of the research are presented below and should provide an ample reference to help assist planners with the development of an appropriate interpretative strategy. As well, given that Carbonear Island is a registered archaeological site and protected under provincial legislation (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1992), this report could form the basis of any historic resources assessment requirements that may be triggered by proposed activities.

1.2 Report Structure

The following report provides a brief description of the study area and lists some of the more notable assets and limitations posed by the island’s topography. This is followed by a discussion of the methodology used to acquire, assess and present the archival and field data as well as a summary of the principal research results and any data gaps identified. Also included are closing statements focussing on site significance and a set of preliminary guidelines for archaeological research in the event any development is proposed. A glossary of military terms taken from Smith’s work of 1779 precedes the report bibliography and endnotes.

Figure 1.1 Carbonear Island Study Area



Information related to the history of Carbonear Island is presented chronologically in a number of phases which, in certain instances, are sub-divided into periods corresponding to the key political events (*i.e.* wars) that influenced or determined the nature and extent of occupation. Included are:

- 1) **The Civilian Fortifications (1690s to 1713)**
 - a) War of the League of Augsburg, 1689 to 1697 (King William's War)
 - b) War of Spanish Succession, 1702 to 1713 (Queen Anne's War)
- 2) **Construction And Maintenance Of Fortifications By Royal Engineers (c. 1740 to 1762)**
 - a) War of Austrian Succession, 1743 to 1748 (King George's War)
 - b) The Interwar Period (1749 to 1756)
 - c) Seven Years War, 1756 to 1763 (French and Indian War)
- 3) **Post-1762**
- 4) **Construction and Maintenance of a Lighthouse on Carbonear Island**

The year 1762 was considered an appropriate benchmark, because it was at that time that Carbonear Island ceased to be used for defence purposes.

1.3 Principal Researcher

The Carbonear Island Archival Research Project was completed by Roy Skanes, B.A., M.Phil., of Jacques Whitford Environment Limited (JWEL), St. John's. Mr. Skanes has been involved in archival and archaeological research since 1978 and has worked extensively in Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario. Since 1990, he has directed a number of research projects into the military history of Newfoundland, including work at or related to Fort Amherst, Quidi Vidi Battery, Quidi Vidi Pass Batteries, the early eighteenth century civilian fortifications at Fox Island, Trinity Bay, and the facility constructed at Fort Point, Trinity, c. 1745. Most recently, he directed an extensive archival investigation into the history of Fort Townshend, St. John's, for the Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Works, Services and Transportation in preparation for construction of *The Rooms* - the provincial government's new Museum/Archives/Art Gallery complex. That project involved a review of original maps, plans and correspondence housed at archives in St. John's, Ottawa and London, England. Subsequently, he was contracted as Chief Archaeologist to oversee the extensive excavations of the site prior to and during the initial stages of construction. As a result of these past projects, he is very familiar with the archival record (both English and French) pertaining to civilian and British Military sites and the types of structures and material culture that could be present on Carbonear Island.

2.0 STUDY AREA

Carbonear Island is situated at the mouth of Carbonear Harbour on the west side of Conception Bay between the communities of Bristol's Hope and Freshwater (Figure 1.1). The island is approximately 750 m long by 330 m wide, and is a maximum of 1 km from shore at its closest point. The highest elevation above sea level (asl) is at the northeast end, where it reaches approximately 40 m in the vicinity of the existing navigational light station (Appendix A). The north, south and east ends are defined by steep or near-vertical cliffs and embankments, with little or no beach at the base (Photo 1). While landings are possible in a number of areas, the only practical place where one does not have to scale a lengthy and unstable incline is at the southwest end, and even there landings can be difficult and attempted only when the sea is calm. Because the beach at that location is narrow and rocky, boats cannot be hauled up and without a wharf, must be moored just offshore (Photo 2). The island itself is relatively dry and unwooded, with grass and shrubs predominating. There are, however, a number of relatively low-lying areas or depressions that appear slightly wet underfoot (Figure 2.1). At various locations, notably along the cliff edge, the ground is hummocky and provides good nesting for a relatively large migratory seabirds population comprised mainly of seagulls (G. Robertson, pers. comm.). In summary, given the topographic conditions and lack of trees for fuel and shelter, Carbonear Island is extremely exposed and not particularly well suited to year-round occupancy. Even though it is situated somewhat out in the bay and close to cod stocks, the lack of beaches for flakes and stages may have been a limiting factor in its use as a summer fishing room. On the other hand, the fact that it stands prominent and is difficult to access, proved to be significant assets as a place of retreat for the resident population during times of conflict between Britain and France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While not confirmed, seals out in Conception Bay and nesting birds may have attracted Aboriginal peoples to the island prior to the arrival of Europeans in the New World.

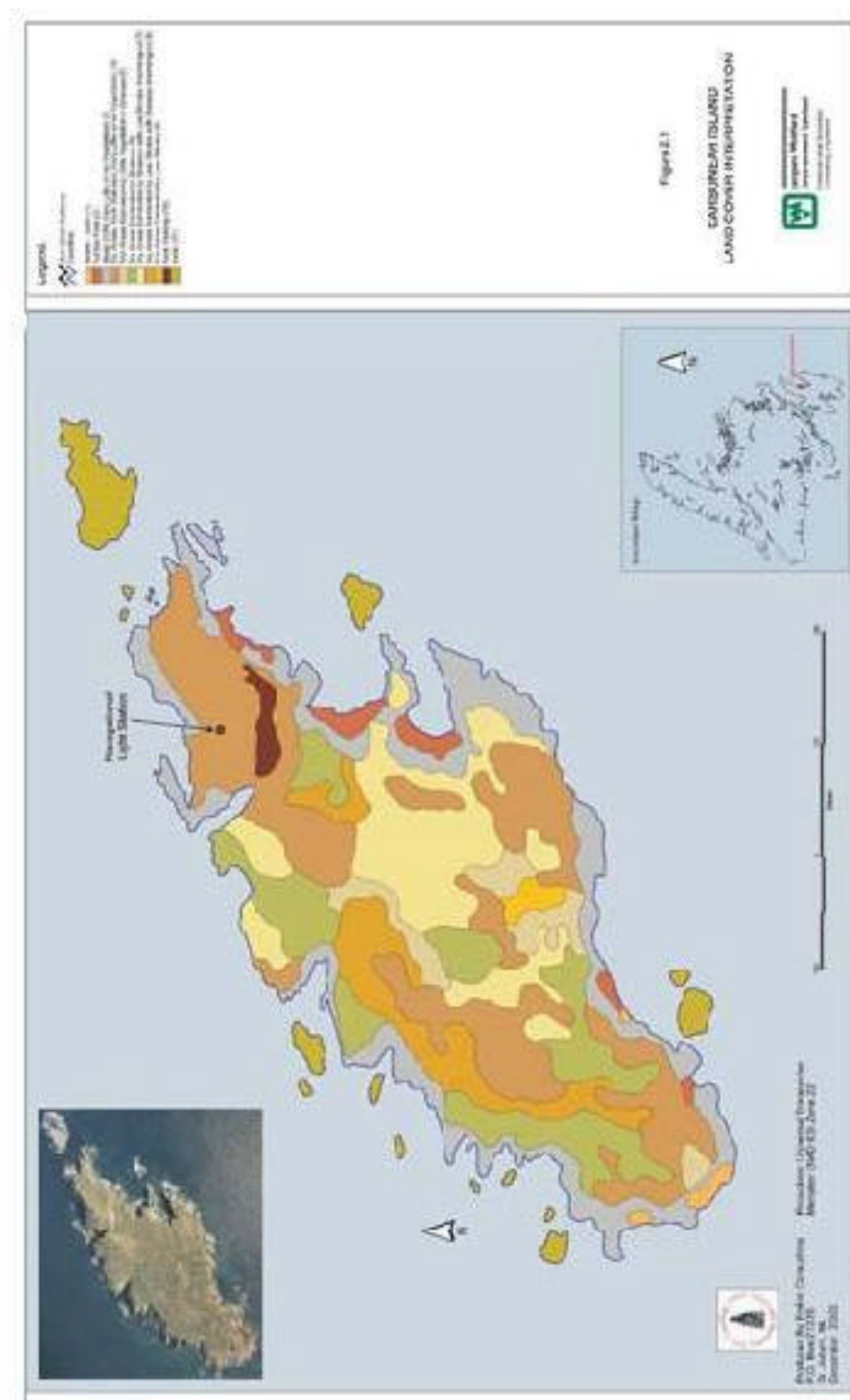
Photo 1 Carbonear Island from Carbonear Harbour (South View)



Photo 2 Carbonear Island Looking Toward the Landing Place (Northeast View)



Figure 2.1 Carbeneer Island Land Cover Interpretation



3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Archival Research

The archival research into the history of Carbonear Island focussed on a search of primary and secondary documentary sources, including published and unpublished literature and reports, and original military correspondence, maps and plans. The history of the site includes the use of the island after the fortifications were abandoned in the 1760s and the construction and maintenance of a navigational lighthouse in the 1870s. Reference is also made to the seasonal fishery, which likely began in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, but with the earliest confirmed use is from mapping dated to *c.* 1750. Use of the island for this purpose appears to have continued until mid-twentieth century.

In the search for documents and illustrations relating to Carbonear Island, research concentrated on the correspondence of Newfoundland Governors and other officials with Government agencies in Britain found in the Colonial Office series C.O. 194. This primary source material is available on microfilm at the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador (PANL) and at the Centre For Newfoundland Studies (CNS) at Queen Elizabeth Library, Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN). In addition, a number of Royal Engineers reports and selected volumes from the Colonial Secretaries Outgoing Correspondence (CSOC, series G.N. 2/1/a) housed at the PANL were searched. Map and plan collections were reviewed at the PANL, the Map Room and CNS at MUN, and the Provincial Resource Library (PRL) at the Arts and Culture Centre, St. John's. Copies of several proposals and reports related to construction of fortifications on the east coast of Newfoundland in the 1740s were also obtained from the Public Records Office (PRO) in London, England. A detailed correspondence prepared by Cartographer Antoine Sieur de Cinq Mars detailing his activities in Newfoundland during the French occupation of the east coast in 1762 was obtained from the Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre (SHAT) in Paris, France. As well, the private papers and photographs of a number of individuals, and a translated version of a journal kept by Father Baudoin during the 1696/97 d'Iberville campaign in Newfoundland, was examined. Documents considered important but too lengthy to incorporate in their entirety are paraphrased in the text or inserted as appendices in a photocopied format. Similarly, only the most relevant maps, plans and pictorial images of the island showing how features and buildings were laid out are included. In so doing, an integrated chronological synopsis and site history are provided, allowing confident predictions to be made regarding the degree of historic resource potential for specific locations. Information on the lighthouse on Carbonear Island was gathered largely from the Journal of the House of Assembly records, Newfoundland (1834 to 1920) and the Year Book and Almanac of Newfoundland (1892 to 1932). All material consulted is referenced in the bibliography or endnotes at the end of this report.

In addition to the above, the Military and Map Archivists at the National Archives of Canada (NAC) in Ottawa were contacted for relevant information. The results of these queries were then compared with archival material already acquired locally and a determination made that a research trip to that institution would likely not result in a significant amount of new information. A number of reels of microfilm from the War Office Series (W.O. 55) covering the mid-eighteenth century were, nonetheless, ordered through inter-library loan.

For supplementary data related to the history of Carbonear Island, three informants from the area (Mr. John Butt, Mr. Nick Head and Mr. Clayton Pottle) were interviewed. Also, a retired Coast Guard employee (Mr. Harold Chubbs) was contacted for information related to the lighthouse and light station. Any insights, and photographic or written material provided by these individuals are referenced in the text under personal communications or in the endnotes at the end of the report. A glossary of military terms taken from Smith's work of 1779 is included for reference.

3.2 Field Reconnaissance

Although the focus of the current study was to review material related to the island's history of use and occupancy, once into the research, it became evident that a trip to Carbonear Island would be essential for a number of reasons. First, it would provide an opportunity to assess (in a general way) the degree of accuracy of the site mapping and correspondence as regards the locations and methods of construction of buildings and military features, and the diversity of land-use suggested by the various English and French cartographers. Secondly, it would allow first-hand data to be gathered concerning the physical extent and state of preservation of any identified remains, if any unauthorized excavation or "looting" was apparent, and the logistics and need for undertaking a comprehensive archaeological survey of the island for research and development purposes. Finally, a walk-over and physical assessment would help establish if there were other areas of historic resources potential not indicated in the archival record. With the above objectives at the fore, a one-day field reconnaissance was scheduled.

In order to help identify and record the island's key cultural elements and any areas or features of interest noted on the historic mapping or during the walk-over, an enlarged and laminated 1:5,000-scale aerial photograph was used. All remains or locations considered important were assigned an alphabetical letter and title, and plotted on the aerial view. Notes were taken regarding the physical extent of features, method of construction, the general state of preservation and the nature of the surrounding topography. Thirty-five mm and digital photography was also obtained. The information gathered during the field reconnaissance is presented in Section 4.2 of this report. All areas of interest were plotted as closely as possible on a site plan with the intention that the data be used as a guide for future planning and research purposes.

4.0 RESEARCH RESULTS

4.1 Archival Research

4.1.1 The Civilian Fortifications (1690s to 1713)

The fortifications erected on Carbonear Island were a function of the defence needs of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century migratory fishery and reflect the economic and social changes that occurred within the industry after the mid-point of the eighteenth century. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, it was the industry that was the focus of government defence policy and not necessarily the resident population and infrastructure of settlements along the English Shore. This approach followed the consistent legislative discouragement of local settlement in favour of Westcountry fishing interests. It was accepted doctrine at the time that these undesirable and dispersed settlements were indefensible and expendable, with the only possible means of defence of the coast and the fishery being seapower (Ransom 2000).

It was for these reasons that the first English fortifications erected in Newfoundland were makeshift, civilian works built by the planters themselves with little or no official sanction or funding from the Crown. They were to be used primarily (but not exclusively) during the winter after the migratory fleet had departed for the year. Essentially, they were places of refuge, such as islands and defensible headlands, where the resident population could retreat and shelter themselves and “a portion of their effects” during times of conflict between the combatant states of Britain and France, long political and economic rivals in the struggle for control of the increasingly important Newfoundland fisheries.

The earliest documented reference discussing the need for fortifications at Carbonear is contained in a proposal submitted to the Board of Trade for Newfoundland in 1679 by two prominent St. John’s merchants, William Downing and Thomas Oxford. Given that Carbonear at that time was reported to be the leading settlement in Conception Bay and second only to St. John’s (Williams 1987: 62), with a total population of 57 (Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador 1967, Volume 1: 345), it seems likely that the business interests of these individuals must have extended to that area. Itemizing the defence requirements for a number of settlements along the east coast of the island, the proposal states that there is a need “...to fortify Carboniere with fifteen guns and eighty small arms.¹ Although it has been assumed that the document is referring specifically to Carbonear Island (Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1967, Volume 1, pg. 346 and Williams 1987, pg. 62), this is not made entirely clear from the portion of text available for review. It is uncertain, therefore, whether defence structures such as earthen gun emplacements or crude accommodations were erected on Carbonear Island at that time.

4.1.1.1 War of the League of Augsburg, 1689 to 1697 (King William's War)

As the importance of the fishery steadily grew in the late seventeenth century, Britain and France were struggling for control of Newfoundland. Whenever war was declared, England's enemies would attempt to cripple her fighting ability by attacking trade and commerce. The French capital of Placentia established in 1662, was seen as a real threat to the English settlements on the Avalon Peninsula and in the bays to the north. In the fall of 1696, during what is referred to as the War of the League of Augsburg (or King William's War), Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville returned to the French colonies from France to wage a "Winter War" in Acadia and Newfoundland to rid, once and for all, the English from North America. Details of the campaign recorded by Abbe Boudoin, a Recollett monk who accompanied the troops, provide significant insight into the English occupation of Conception Bay in general and Carbonear Island in particular, where up to 300 inhabitants of the area were reported to have retreated and erected defensive works and shelters (eighteenth century documentation presented below suggests this figure could be high). Passages relating specifically to the island taken from an English translation of the journal are either paraphrased or presented in their entirety below in order to highlight the nature and extent of the occupation at that time.²

On January 14, 1697, after having captured St. John's, d'Iberville marched overland to Portugal Cove with the main body of troops that consisted of approximately 100 men. On January 23rd, they departed from the bottom of Conception Bay for Carbonear in three sloops and a skiff commandeered from the inhabitants. On the same day they encountered fishermen in four sloops who, suspecting they were French, departed and carried the alarm to Carbonear, which was reported to be d'Iberville's principal objective. On the morning of the 24th, the French troops left for Carbonear from Port de Grave, passing around Carbonear Island. An entry in Baudoin's journal states that:

"...We saw the enemy ranged [lined up] in large numbers who fired some cannon at us. On this isle were sheltered many from Carbonniere, Harve de Grace, Mousquit and other small harbours, with the fugitives from St. John's. There appeared to be 300 men lodged in barracks already built. They thought we would attack them. We reached Carbonniere three hours after noon and met Montigny who on his arrival had made some prisoners and killed some. Others fled in sloops to New Perlican, 6 leagues distance. This same day we summoned the people of the island, who answered that they would fight, for this island is just as was described by prisoners. I believe that we cannot take it. It is scarped with high cliffs, except one landing at the west point, a pistol shot from a boom made of sloops. On the isle are four cannon, six-pounders; besides which, only two sloops at a time can land, and then only in calm, which is not frequent in the winter. All this together makes one doubtful of taking it, though our men were strongly resolved to go there and were confident that we would take it. Could we but land, the enemy are filled with fear, regarding as madmen these Canadians who have come a hundred leagues over the snow to attack them..."

On January 26th, some English prisoners, who were apparently promised a sum of money, showed French troops two other locations on the island where a landing might be possible. After completing a thorough investigation, it was determined that the sea was still too rough to make an attempt. Two days later, after having burnt Harbour Grace, the sea was still considered to be too high. However, on January 31st at midnight, d'Iberville went to the island with 90 men in nine sloops and attempted to land at the east and north ends - likely the two locations identified by the English prisoners. In the course of their efforts, an alarm was sounded and a gun fired on the French vessels, causing them to retreat. Another attempt was subsequently made, but the ice-covered rocks and the high seas rendered it impossible.

On February 1st, d'Iberville went around the island in a sloop and discovered another place on the west side where a landing might be possible. However, it was quickly fortified by placing a larger force there. Consequently, no attempt was made, as the loss of personnel would likely be high. The following day, Sieur de la Peirade, a Canadian Sub-Lieutenant, was sent to Port de Grave and Brigus to oversee the inhabitants in those settlements and to prevent them from going to the island. This latter point is of note in that it suggests that landings at that time were, indeed, possible and that perhaps Baudoin may have been overstating the high seas and icy cliffs as the cause for their lack of success. It may simply have been that the island's fortress-like topography made it extremely easy to defend. Further support for this conclusion is provided by the entry of February 8th, claiming that several inhabitants of Carbonear Island had come into Carbonear, captured a French soldier and three Irishmen who had joined their force and returned without detection. They had also carried off a sick Frenchman from Port de Grave, which resulted in that settlement and Brigus being burned. Towards the end of the month, a large segment of Carbonear itself was put to the torch.

On March 27th, an individual reported to be an English officer captured by the French was permitted to go to Carbonear Island to help convince those residing there to surrender and "recognize the King of France", in return for which they would be permitted to "make the summer's fishing". Two weeks later on April 12th, 60 men in sloops went to Old Perlican and Bay de Verde to punish the settlers who, against their parole (word), had taken arms and were "...constantly going to Carbonniere Island, which was above all forbidden them...".

At daybreak on April 14th, the French attacked a ship of 60 tons at Old Perlican. An entry in the Baudoin journal states that "...While we attacked the ship, the settlers went to Bay Verde to warn a small ship which had arrived there. This fled immediately, taking almost all the good men to Carbonniere Island...". On April 18th, an Irishman escaped on the ice from Carbonear Island and walked through the woods to Heart's Content, where he reported that there were nearly 300 men on the island, "...every day some English coming in from the woods...". A final, significant and revealing statement made by Baudoin in his journal highlights some of the frustration he clearly felt with not having captured Carbonear Island. It also points to the extreme measures he felt that would be necessary to do so. He

stated that “...To this isle there ought to come some large ships of war, with two galleys, and capture it, and should fine everyone going to surrender at Placentia...”

The Peace of Ryswick signed in 1697 put a temporary halt to English and French quarrels in Newfoundland. However, only five years later hostilities again broke out between the two European powers, resulting in a renewed French effort to wipe out English settlements in Newfoundland. As to the facilities that were in place on Carbonear Island during the winter of 1696/97, the Baudoin journal suggests that, at very least, there were some form of accommodations or shelters for the inhabitants of the region. Also, based on the descriptions, there were likely earthen Intrenchments and possibly Gun Emplacements for 6-pound cannon at the southwest end of the island overlooking the only practical landing place, which appears to have been relatively easy to defend. Given the nature of the threat, it is likely that any structures would have been hastily erected for what would likely be a temporary, winter occupation. Even if the number of individuals residing on Carbonear Island was somewhat less than reported, archaeological remains from the period would almost certainly still be present.

4.1.1.2 War of Spanish Succession, 1702 to 1713 (Queen Anne’s War)

As tensions between English and French increased at the beginning of the eighteenth century following the renewal of war in 1702, and it became evident that attacks on each other’s settlements and fishing stations in Newfoundland were inevitable, the inhabitants of Carbonear drafted and submitted a petition to Queen Anne detailing the occurrences of the last war when they had retreated to the island and defended themselves from assault. In the document, submitted in late 1702, it was stated that even though they had recently contributed towards the purchase of guns and ammunition to the best of their ability, some additional arms would still be required from the Crown for the protection of their habitations and a great deal of “Goods and Concerns” left behind on the mainland to the mercy of the enemy (Appendix B).³ Similar concerns were raised in other petitions drafted the same year.⁴

Also in 1702 (or early 1703), Solomon Merritt, a Trinity merchant with far-reaching influence, dispatched a lengthy correspondence to England outlining the need for defences of his community. At the end of the document, he made specific reference to the fact that similar resources should be allocated for the defence of Carbonear. Although no direct reference to the island was made, Merritt did highlight the considerable importance of the fishery in that part of Conception Bay and the increased need for arms from the Crown for the defence of the inhabitants and industry.⁵ As the documentation presented below will show, the French presence in Conception Bay during the war was such that the island was likely occupied (or at least kept at the ready) throughout the majority, if not all, of the conflict, up until the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

In an extensive document detailing the activities resulting from the French threat during the fall of 1704 and winter of 1705, it was stated by the inhabitants that:

...the Enemy proceeded down the Bay and coming to Carbonere they found all the Inhabitants gotten upon the Island and left Little or Nothing on shore besides Storehouses and Stages;

Montigny Betook himself again to his dissatisfaction, and proposed that if they would give up the Island he would [not] Destroy their Houses, nor anything else that was their's, and sent them a Boat with an Officer upon that amount, But the Inhabitants being about Ninety or One hundred Men strong upon the Island, Provided with five Great Guns and Sufficient Ammunition (which they had from the Relator as is before mentioned) refused to hear of any Surrender; and defended themselves Bravely.

The Enemy finding this disappointment there; Did after three or four days stay Burn what they could not Carry away and then went further to ? Coves and ? Bay...⁶

In mid-March 1705, William Payne and George Davis, two of the "Principal Inhabitants of Carbonere Island", drafted a letter outlining the grave situation that existed for those who had refused to surrender and consequently had their homes and properties destroyed. They were requesting assistance in the form of arms and ammunition that were critical for defence.⁷ On March 19th of the same year, a return letter was prepared by Lieut. Moody at St. John's congratulating them on their victory and unwillingness to surrender. He also mentioned that the materials requested had recently been sent to them by boat.⁸ Toward the end of the month, one barrel of powder, forty shot, a number of flints, matches, 12 muskets, 50-pound weight of shot and a piece of "Old Colours" were sent for the defence of Carbonear Island.⁹

Other documentation from 1705 indicates that the situation on Carbonear Island had become increasingly difficult and it appeared, at that time, that the occupation of Conception Bay would persist well into the summer with the result being that the fishery would not be possible that season. A letter drafted by the inhabitants late in March suggests that even though their movements were severely curtailed, information and intelligence on the occurrences in Conception and Trinity Bays was nevertheless reaching them through various means, despite the fact that French troops were constantly on the move and attempting to reduce the island's numbers on a daily basis. It was also indicated that several of the inhabitants residing on the mainland - possibly under the command or influence of an individual referred to by the name Snow - were being provided with provisions by the French in return for information and their aid with overtaking the island. The document discussing this and other significant matters reads:

...the Enemy has taken all as far as they Go keeping their Rendezvous at Hearts Content; from where they have sent 40 Men to take Fox Island at the North side of Trinity Bay but whether taken or not we have no Intelligence; the rest of their Company remains at Hearts Content, and from there they ? daily to Carbonere and lay in Ambush to kill us as we ? on shore from the Island. M. Montigne has sent us word that we shall Catch no fish this year in all Carbonere, for he said that he is out pockett 500 £ on his Indians and is resolved to have it again of us or else he will have our lives: for he will wait on us all the Summer to take revenge on us for keeping the Island from him, for which he said he shall have his... The said Montigne hath Left several Quantities of provisions with several people on shore, to Restore their Spirits, as the Inhabitants them selves in form Us; Therefore we desire your Advise whether we may not with safety bring them with their Boats to the Island, for they are daily going to and fro; and may bring the Enemy on us...”.¹⁰

A letter of response to the above written on April 5th, 1705, by Lieut. Moody claims that he recently received a copy of their correspondence from the island by boat and was glad to hear that they continued in their effort to withstand the enemy assaults. “As for that Snow you mentioned in your Letter, I take him to be a Villainous fellow, and that you ought for your own Safety as well as for her Majesties service [to let] him upon the Island together with the rest of fellows, and all such Provisions as is left by the French for the subsistence of their spyes”. He then suggested that it may not be possible for the inhabitants of Carbonear and area to proceed with the fishery until assistance could be provided for them by Men of War from England, “...for the Enemy will Certainly work all opportunities to Destroy both you and your Industry...” He also remarked that: “When you have taken Snow and the Provisions I have mentioned upon the Island send him round to me and when I have examined him I Shall give you further Advice.” The correspondence from Lieut. Moody closes by confirming that if additional materials were required for the defence of Carbonear Island, a formal request should be put forward to him and they would be provided from the Garrison at St. John’s.¹¹ It was also mentioned in the same document that the estimated value of effects and household goods burnt or carried away by the enemy from the several communities in the vicinity of Carbonear was £46,000.¹² At St. John’s and Quidi Vidi, for example, it was reported to be only £45,000, which, if accurate, does provide a good measure for the extent of the fishery, trade and infrastructure in place in that corner of Conception Bay at the time.¹³

Remarking on the degree of destruction caused by French troops in other areas of Newfoundland that year, it was noted that they “...burnt Bay Bulls, ferryland, Renoos, Fenenoos, Aqua Fort, Brecass by South, Harbour Main, Brecass by North, Portugrave, Carboneer, the Inhabitants of the latter went to a small Island with most of their effects where they Secured themselves.”¹⁴ Moreover, a list outlining the numbers of winter inhabitants that remain in the several bays of Newfoundland fit to bear arms was broken down as follows:

?? Saint John & the adjacent Southern harbours	400
?? Consumption	200
?? Trinity	200
?? Bonavista	<u>200</u>
?? In all	1000 ¹⁵

A proposal prepared by a number of merchants during the summer of 1705 mentioned that the problems being experienced as a result of the French presence in Conception Bay could well continue into the following winter. Consequently, additional arms were requested from the Crown.¹⁶ Despite these efforts, it was subsequently directed that only the fortifications proposed for Trinity and Ferryland be erected, as well as a facility at Harbour Grace. Surprisingly, though, no mention was made of either Carbonear or Carbonear Island.¹⁷ Later that year (or early in 1706), Royal Engineer W. Roope drafted a memo outlining measures to be taken by the permanent residents for their protection. The document suggests that by that time, what were formerly considered recommendations or suggested procedures for dealing with matters of defence, were gradually evolving into laws or more formal requirements to be followed for “...the better governing of the Country in the winter”. It was noted, for example, that each year the people should “...retire to such places as are of strength with their respective directions bringing with them all their possessions and their best Effects except those that are bona fide gone a hunting or have leave to go to some remote place to saw boards but neither one nor the other to carry their family with them apart they render themselves to the fortresses some time in [winter] if wind and weather permit...”. It was also outlined that each September a body of men resembling a local militia should be established at each location and that the inhabitants choose from among themselves one individual to have the powers similar to those of a Corporal. In case of mortality, six others should be named as successors. All these requirements should be in place prior to the departure of the migratory fleet in the fall.¹⁸

As the war continued into its fifth year, in early 1706, the inhabitants of Conception Bay and adjacent areas again petitioned the Crown in England to send additional forces to Newfoundland for the protection of the fishery.¹⁹ In late 1709, as problems of French harassment of English settlements persisted, and St. John’s had again fallen to the French, the residents of Carbonear compiled yet another lengthy document summarizing their grave condition: a transcribed version is included as an endnote at the end of this report.²⁰ In a response prepared by government, it was again stressed that Newfoundland inhabitants construct for themselves make-shift fortifications and occupy them during the winter months

when the British Military and shipping in general was not present in any numbers around the Island. This policy would ultimately affect all the major fishing communities along the east coast from Bonavista in the north to Ferryland in the south. Primary source material in the form of a letter written by Lieut. Moody at St. John's on 23 December 1709 suggests that at that time, conditions had become so bad, that a percentage of the resident population was considering departing Newfoundland. It reads:

... in July last pursuant to her Majesty's Command I Settled about Nine hundred Men, with their families upon Several Strong Islands lying to the Northward and Southward of St. John's, delivering to them a Phase of her Majesty's bounty of Arms, Ammunition and provisions at the same time Assuring them that they might Expect further works of her Royall favour & cost for their Safety and protection, prevailing with them to change their resolution of quitting the Country...²¹

An interesting document signed by a J. Taylor in 1709 states that at that time, there was left at Carbonear Island (remaining) two barrels of corn powder, 15 pounds of shot, 20 pounds of matches, as well as 20 flints and other necessary armaments,²² all of which must have been housed in some sort of temporary shelter.

In October 1709, John Collins Esq. was appointed Governor and Commander in Chief of the fort and harbour of St. John's and the entire coast between Ferryland and Carbonear Island following the French departure from St. John's that year. It was his responsibility to see that all officers, inhabitants and others organize themselves for the defence of Newfoundland. Accordingly, he placed John Pynn in command of the defences on Carbonear Island.²³ A slightly later document entitled, *A Record of several laws for the better discipline and good order of the people of Newfoundland*, drafted by Captain Crowe in 1711, suggests that by that time it had become an official requirement that inhabitants reoccupy their winter quarters. Clause five of the document (sometimes referred to as Crowe's Laws) states that "...the Inhabitants, fisherman & Servants of the Several places in Newfoundland and [under] Mentioned; are to repair to their Winter Quarters allotted them by the first of October and be under the command of their Several Governors for the better Security of themselves & Effects against the Assaults of the Enemy in Small Bodys to the particular places undermentioned."²⁴

The document goes on to say that residents of St. John's, Quidi Vidi, Torbay and Petty Harbour were to take refuge in Fort William under the command of Governor Collins, and those in Conception Bay should move to either Carbonear Island, Little Belle Island or Harbour Grace. People occupying the east coast of the Avalon Peninsula south of St. John's were to take refuge in the fort at Ferryland, and those in Trinity Bay re-establish themselves on Dildo Island and Fox Island.

A table appended to the document entitled, *Account of the bodys of Inhabitants drawn on the Several places under Mentioned*, reads as follows:

Bonavista and Adjacent places:.....	290
Dildo Island and Adjacent Places:	205
Fox's Island and Adjacent places:.....	185
Carbonear Island and Adjacent places:.....	130
Harbergrass Island and Adjacent places:.....	150
Little Bell Island and Adjacent places:.....	050
Fort William at St. John's and Adjacent places:	349
Gull Island and Adjacent places:	200
Ferryland and Adjacent places:	<u>366</u>
Total 1925 Men ²⁵	

By 1712, British victories in Europe had brought about an armistice, and in the Treaty of Utrecht signed the following year, the French yielded all rights in Newfoundland to Britain and were forced to leave Placentia (Ransom 1991). This key political event marked the end of the use of civilian fortifications on Carbonear Island.

4.1.2 Construction And Maintenance Of Fortifications By Royal Engineers (c. 1740 to 1762)

Although conflicts between Britain and France had officially ceased, concerns about the requirement for a military presence to maintain control of the fishery continued to be raised. In 1739, for example, a petition was presented to the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty by several London merchants with trading interests in Newfoundland. The document claimed that, due to the defenceless state and condition of the island, His Majesty should fund the construction of several forts or, at very least, encourage the inhabitants of the different “out harbours” to do so. Moreover, the settlements in question should be furnished with the necessary arms and stores for the proper protection of so valuable a trade as the fishery, which, at the time, was also considered to be the principal “Nursery of Seamen” for the Navy.²⁶ In another similar document, it was stated that in the event government should decide not to erect fortifications at the “Public Charge”, the inhabitants should do so at their own expense, but with the iron work and provisions provided by the Crown. It was also suggested that a militia with a commanding officer be established at each place. For the service of Carbonear, 12 Cannon and 150 small arms with powder and ball would be required.²⁷

Eventually, the concerns of the merchants and inhabitants were taken seriously and, in July 1740, it was recommended that the Board of Ordnance send an Engineer to Placentia to survey the state of the fortifications at that location and prepare a detailed budget for their repair. Once the work at Placentia was completed, the Engineer should then:

...go to St. John's and the other places and make Survey Plans and Estimates for Fortifying them, and at the same time Report whether small Fortifications Erected at Ferryland, Trinity Harbour and Carboniere, would afford a Safe retreat to the Inhabitants in case of a Sudden Attack, what the Expenses would be, and what the Inhabitants may be able to Contribute towards them either in Money or Labour, and that this Trade may not be too much exposed or neglected in the Interim till Fortifications can be built...²⁸

4.1.2.1 War of Austrian Succession, 1743 to 1748 (King George's War)

Sometime prior to the summer of 1744 (probably during the winter of 1742/43 following the outbreak of war), plans and estimates for fortifying the different out harbours (including Ferryland, Carbonear and Trinity), were finalized and submitted to the Board of Ordnance for review. Even though copies of all the documents related to this event were not located, reference to them in other correspondence indicates that the Engineer's report recommended that:

...the several Fortifications and Batteries projected for the Defence of Placentia, St. John's, Ferryland and Carboniere Harbours by the Engineer now in Newfoundland should be completed as soon as possible according to the respective Plans transmitted to the Board of Ordnance, That all the Fortifications except those at Placentia to save time and expense may be Erected with Sod Work and Palisades only... That Magazines for Powder, Storehouses, and Barracks be forthwith Erected in such Places where they may be wanted and of such Materials as shall by the Engineer be thought most convenient...²⁹

In July 1744, it was noted that Fox Island in Trinity Bay and Carbonear Island in Conception Bay, which served as places of retreat for the inhabitants during the last war, should be provided for as the Engineer shall judge necessary.³⁰ It was also proposed that 1 Sargent, 1 Corporal and 10 Gunners be stationed at Carbonear, and a total sum of £25 be allocated in the year's budget for contingencies. Sometime slightly thereafter, it was recommended that the Artificers stationed at Ferryland should be removed to Carbonear according to the discretion of the Engineer and as the need required.³¹ A list of stores proposed to be sent for the defence of the island was also prepared at that time. In addition to ten 18-pound cannon and carriages, it included a wide variety of tools and materials for construction and maintenance of a standard British Military post of the period. Clearly, a significant change in the approach to defence of the fishery had occurred. A copy of the document has been included for review as Appendix C at the end of this report.³²

What appears to be an original copy of a plan showing the fortifications proposed for Carbonear Island was located at the PANL. Entitled, *A PLAN OF Carboniere Island in Conception BAY NEWFOUNDLAND*, it contains a statement at the bottom of the page claiming it was received with W. John Brewne's letter dated at St. John's the 18th of October 1746. While not confirmed, it is likely that the drawing represents what was actually proposed and approved for construction some two years earlier. A legend at the top right-hand corner numbers and describes the different buildings slated for construction. It includes: a Landing Place at the southwest end (possibly referring to a wharf); two Five-gun Batteries (one facing Carbonear Harbour and the other out into Conception Bay); a projected Barracks or Quarters; and a projected Powder Magazine and Storehouse (Figure 4.1).³³ As will be made clear by the illustrative and written material presented below, the plan of Carbonear Island from 1746 is more schematic than accurate as regards the lay-out and design of batteries and buildings (notably the Barracks), and the topography in general. Nonetheless, it does signify a notable shift by government from simply supplementing the arms requirements of the various settlements along the English Shore to directing the Board of Ordnance and Royal Engineers to take a leading role in construction and upkeep of more elaborate and durable fortifications for the defence of the inhabitants and the fishery.

Sometime shortly after the c. 1746 overview plan of Carbonear Island was drafted (Figure 4.1), a detailed architectural-type drawing of a Barracks and Quarters proposed for construction was also completed by the Royal Engineers. The drawing indicates that the building would consist of an elongated central section with two adjoining rooms, with wings or extensions projecting off either end, resulting in a more or less I-shaped structure. Between each room would be partition walls with chimneys, with brick fireplaces on either side. Based on the proposed wall thickness, it appears that the Barracks and Quarters would be constructed mainly of stone, but with wood-framed and sheeted gables and roof. Slate or wooden shingles may have been used on the roof, and parts of the exterior were likely sheeted with clapboard (Figure 4.2).³⁴ The drawing entitled, *Plan, Section and Elevation of the projected Quarters and Barracks on Carboniere Island in Conception Bay, Newfoundland*, includes a legend which enumerates the following:

A	Lieut. Of the Union	B	Kitchen
C	Gunners Barracks	D	Soldiers Barracks
E	Subalterns Quarters	F	Kitchen

Figure 4.1 *PLAN OF Carboniere Island in Conception BAY NEWFOUNDLAND. 1746*

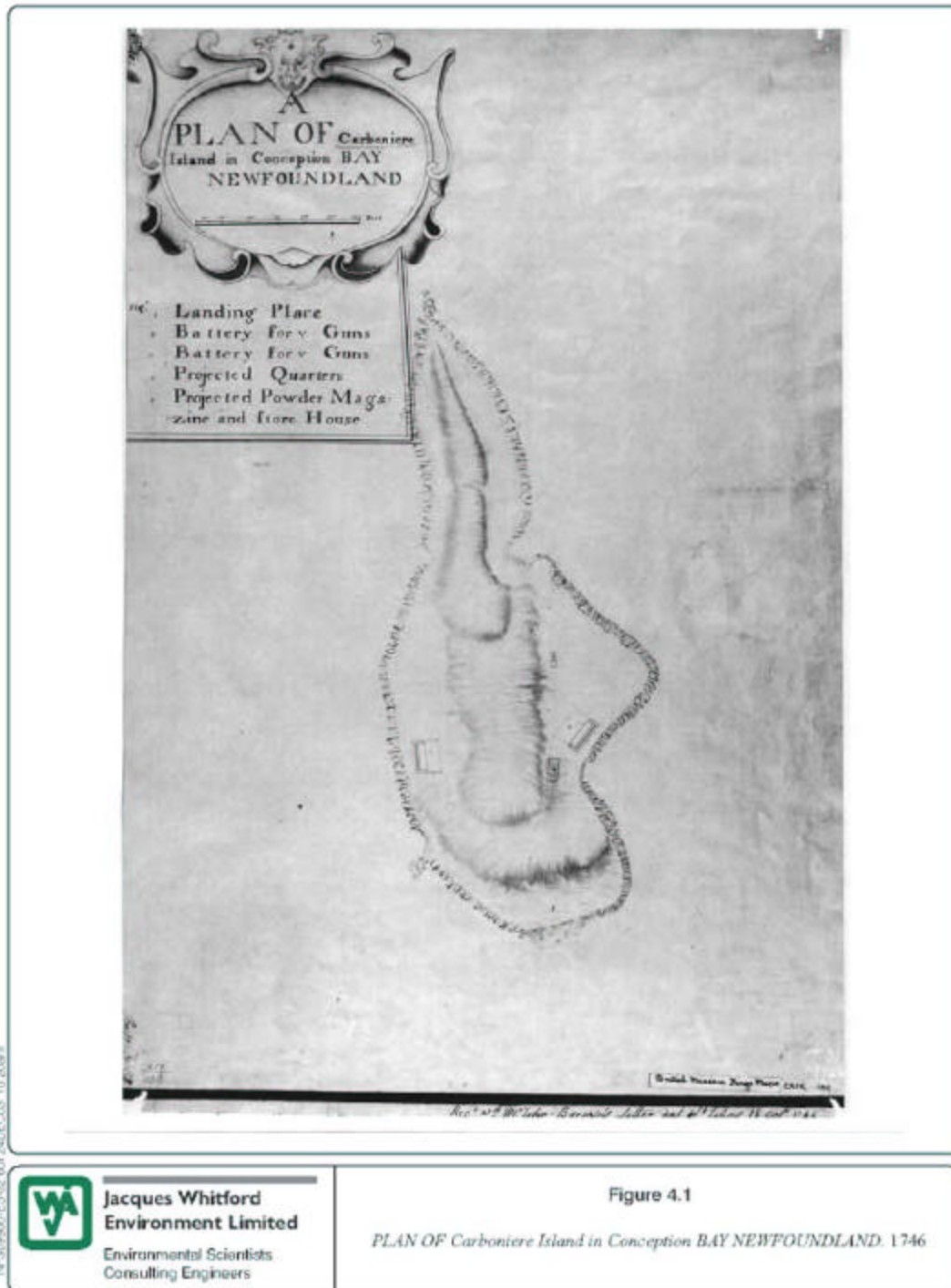


Figure 4.2 *Plan, Section and Elevation of the Proposed Quarters and Barracks on Carboniere Island, in Conception Bay Newfoundland. c. 1747*

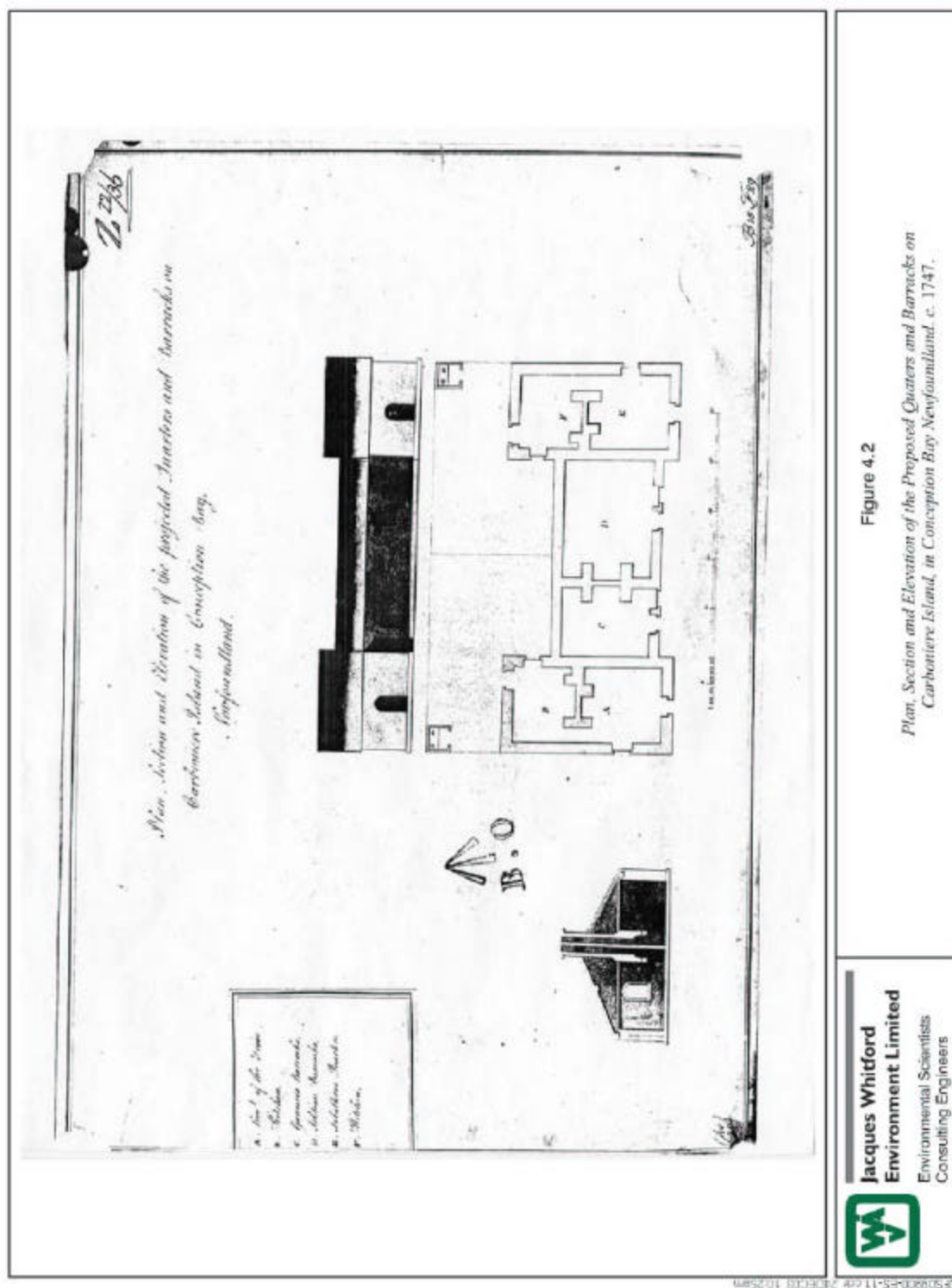


Figure 4.2

Plan, Section and Elevation of the Proposed Quarters and Barracks on Carboniere Island, in Conception Bay Newfoundland. c. 1747.



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Although the plan is not dated in any apparent way, correspondence filed with the Board of Ordnance in 1748 stating that construction of the Barracks was well underway by May of that year, suggests that it was drawn sometime in 1747. Because the design or “footprint” of the proposed Barracks and Quarters differs from that shown on the 1746 overview of Carbonear Island (Figure 4.1), it seems likely that it is not related to that particular plan. As will be seen below, it is the same shape as the building shown on more recent site mapping. One final note regarding the above drawing is the inclusion of two small structures situated just off the kitchens and listed as B and F. Based on the size and design of these structures, it is concluded that they are Privies (Outhouses) proposed for construction at that time (Figure 4.2).

In the spring of 1748, as construction of the fortifications on Carbonear Island proceeded, William Cook, Esq., Chief Engineer of Newfoundland, filed the following report with the Board of Ordnance detailing what existed on the island at that time. It would appear from the details contained in the report that he had, in fact, visited the island. It reads:

On this Island is two Batteries of Cannon, five 18 pounders each, One of which is on the SW side to Defend the Entrance into Harbour Grace the other on the NW to Defend the Entrance into Carbonier and Musqueta Cove Harbours, the Platforms of the last not quite finished, the Parapet which is en Barbet, wants twenty Inches of its proper height. The Powder Magazine & Storehouse finished. The Barracks raised Three feet above the ? and will, I suspect, be covered in time enough for the Workmen to finish the Battery.³⁵

4.1.2.2 Interwar Period (1749 to 1755)

War with France officially came to an end in 1748. Over the course of the entire conflict, no direct military action had occurred in Newfoundland. To ensure that the fortifications on Carbonear Island were kept in a state of readiness and did not fall into a complete state of disrepair, a contract for upkeep was awarded by the Board of Ordnance to a Mr. Steward. As regards the size of the garrison, by the fall of 1749, it had been reduced to 1 Lieutenant, 1 Corporal, 1 Bombardon, 3 Gunners and 5 Mattrosses.³⁶ Similar to 1748, there were still 10 cannon on the island.³⁷ In an extensive document entitled, *State and Remains of Stores on Carbonier Island from the 1st October 1748 to 30th September 1749*, there was also a wide assemblage of materials reported to be present in the Magazine and adjoining Storehouse. The document, which is far too lengthy to summarize in the body of the text, has been photocopied and included for reference as Appendix D at the end of this report.³⁸

Also in 1749, John Bastide, an Engineer with the Royal Navy, travelled to Newfoundland to investigate the state of the various fortifications recently erected. Bastide, the Chief Engineer stationed at the Fortress of Louisbourg immediately following the French capitulation of 1745, had, on a number of occasions during the fall of 1748, requested leave to depart Isle Royale (later to become known as Cape Breton Island) and return to England. In November of that year, his leave was finally approved and he

was permitted to depart... "as soon as the Stores are removed from Louisbourg and the town is evacuated."³⁹ Shortly thereafter, however, he received new instructions directing him to travel to Newfoundland on his way to England to examine the fortifications and to make a detailed account of the financial circumstances. A letter written to Bastide on 23 December 1748 outlined the following:

Very large sums of mony having been drawn from an [account] of the Works in Newfoundland since the Death of M. Wibault, more especially for those at Placentia and St. John's, and having no satisfactory [record] transmitted to us of the Progress which has been made, or of the State and Condition of them so as to form a tolerable judgement has and for what so much mony has been laid out or for what remains to be done to make them useful or to put them into a State of Defence.

His Grace, the Master General, therefore thinks it highly necessary you should, before you return home, visit Placentia, St. John's and the other Settlements in Newfoundland, take an account of their State and Condition, also examine the Books of the several Storekeeper's, see how and for what the mony has been laid out, what was Demanded from time to time and Report to us your Observations and Opinions of the whole. We have informed our engineer officers and all others concerned to aid and assist you herein, and have enclosed an account of the Mony that has been drawn from the several places respectively.⁴⁰

Bastide arrived at Placentia early in 1749 and on the 24th of February, an account of the expenditures for St. John's, Placentia, Carbonner, Ferryland and Trinity was written. The document entitled, *An Account of Mony Imprested and Paid for Materials for use of the Works in Newfoundland from July 1746 to 31 December 1748*, states that during the specified time period £283, 18, 2 worth of materials had been sent for the fortifications at Carbonear, but Bills of Exchange drawn amounted to only £269, 0, 17.⁴¹ The dates covered by Bastide's report are of particular interest in that they suggest constructions of fortifications on Carbonear Island began sometime during the summer or spring of 1746. While it is known that Bastide submitted a second report entitled, *An Abstract of the most flagrant abuses and misconducts in Newfoundland*, wherein he may have discussed Carbonear Island in some detail, the document (completed in March 1750) could not be located during the current research project. The reference for it, obtained from a type-written statement prepared by the Historic Sites and Monuments of Canada in the late 1960s or early 1970s, unfortunately proved to be inaccurate. The reel of microfilm on which it was reported to be was ordered from the NAC through inter-library and reviewed with negative results. Oddly, a slightly earlier report entitled, *Capt Bastide's Complaints, Mr. Wibault's Answers*, contained no reference whatsoever to Carbonear.⁴² Exactly why, is uncertain.

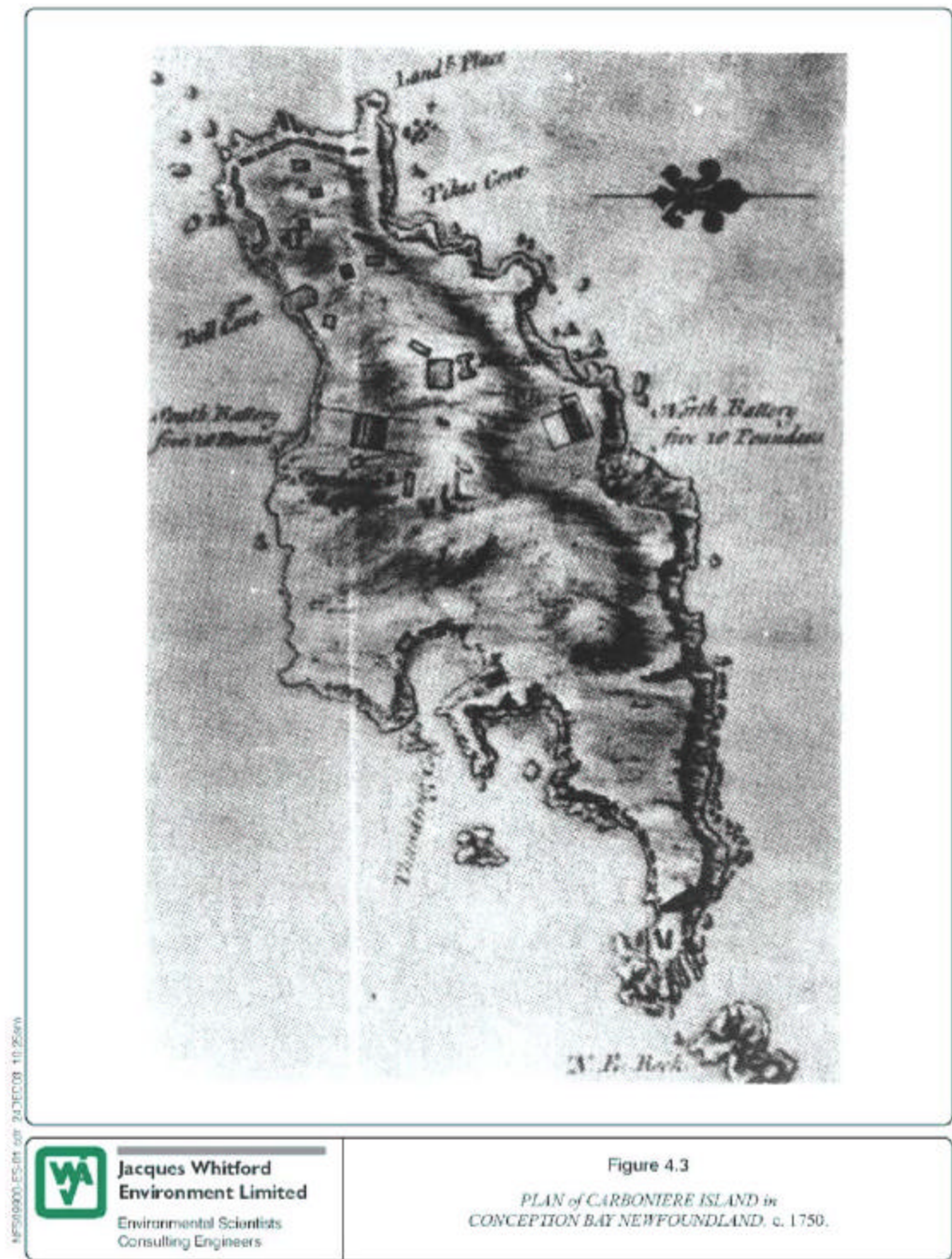
Starting in 1750, the size of the garrison at Carbonear and other east coast locations was reduced and the materials in stores were ordered to be transferred to St. John's. A document written at that time outlines following:

I received also by the Hand of Captain Bastide a Director of Engineers a copy of a Paragraph of a Letter of Your Grace to Sir John Segonier dated the 6th April last [1749] importing that, The King has been pleased to direct that the Ordnance Stores, & Magazines now at Ferryland, Carbonier and Trinity Harbour in Newfoundland, should be all transported to St. John's in the same Island, and that a Sargent and Five Gunners only be left at each of the first Mentioned Places to take Care of the Store houses and Platforms.

I have the Honour to Acquaint Your Grace that the Transportation of the above Stores to this Place has been for some time begun, and that the whole of His Majesty's orders therein will be Complied in a Short Time...⁴³

At about the same time as the above account was drafted, a plan of Carbonear Island thought to date to c. 1750 was completed. Information obtained from an extensive database compiled by Alberta Wood, the Map Archivist at the Map Room, MUN, suggests the author may have been Augustus or Andrew Dumford, as the initials AD appear on the drawing. In any event, it is a particularly skilful representation of the island, showing stylized vegetation and relief pictorially and by shading. It also includes a number of buildings at the southwest end (possibly owned by Pike and/or Pynn and used for the seasonal fishery), as well as a line of Intrenchments along the edge of the embankment overlooking the Landing Place, two five-gun Batteries, a Magazine and Storehouse, the I-shaped Barracks and Quarters with what is likely an adjacent Privy, a number of Gardens (possibly for vegetables) and what may be a Guard Room or lookout on the height of land at the northeast end of the island. A number of prominent landmarks are also noted, including Pike's Cove, Thundering Cove and Bell Cove. From a historic resources research and development point of view, the plan of Carbonear Island dating to c. 1750 is an invaluable source of information for assessing the site's archaeological and interpretative potential (Figure 4.3).⁴⁴

Figure 4.3 *PLAN of CARBONIERE ISLAND in CONCEPTION BAY NEWFOUNDLAND. c. 1750*



A report filed at the end of 1750, possibly to accompany the above plan, lists only 1 Bombardier, 1 Gunner and 4 Mattrosses for Carbonear.⁴⁵ The same number is recorded for 1751,⁴⁶ 1753⁴⁷ and 1754.⁴⁸ In 1755, while one reports lists 1 Lieutenant Fire Worker, 1 Sargent, 1 Gunner and 4 Mattrosses,⁴⁹ another shows 1 Sargent, 1 Gunner and 4 Mattrosses.⁵⁰ Also in 1755, there were still ten 18-pound cannon in place on Carbonear Island,⁵¹ and it was directed that, in addition to 143 round shot for 24-pound, 18-pound and 6-pound cannon and several other materials for operation and maintenance of guns, the following list of supplies was to be delivered for use by the garrison:

Common Powder Barrels	Ten
Fine Powder Barrels	Two
Musquet Balls	1 Hund ^{red} Weight
Flints for Musquets	five Hundr.
Tanned Hydes	Two. ⁵²

4.1.2.3 Seven Years War, 1756 to 1763 (French and Indian War)

With the outbreak of war in 1756 came a renewed effort to ensure that the fortifications on Carbonear Island were promptly put into a renewed state of readiness. Even though the troops listed for that year consisted of only 1 Gunner and 1 Mattross,⁵³ in 1757, an Officer was directed, without loss of time, to proceed to Ferryland, Trinity, and Carbonear to conduct a thorough survey of the fortifications and report back as to their state and condition and whether or not they had been maintained according to the terms and conditions of the contract awarded to Mr. James Steward by the Board of Ordnance on the 10th of April, 1750.⁵⁴ Over the course of his assessment, M. Edmund Scott made the following observations:

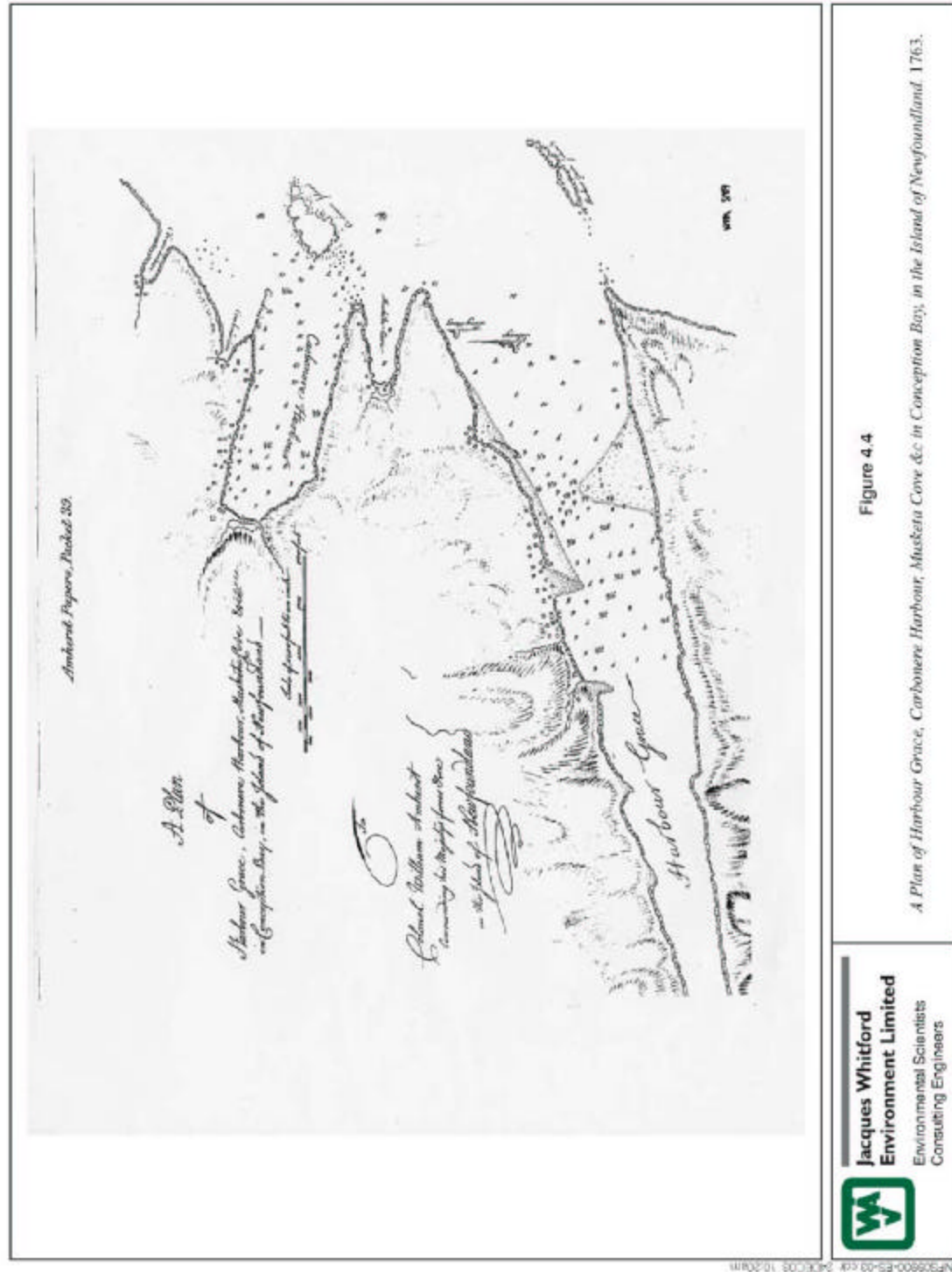
Carboniere Island situated in Conception Bay between Carboniere and Harbour Grace Harbours opposite the entrance into Musquitta Cove and about 1/3 of a Mile distance from the shore, it is inaccessible almost all round, it has 2 Batteries en Barbett one on the S side inclosed with Pallisades in Reverse, the other on the North side quite open with a small ditch about 12 or 14 feet wide & 6 or 7 feet deep, each Battery mounts five 18 pounders but their height from the Water being near one hundred feet together with the distance from those Harbours & the Battery's being situated not in the most favourable manner, render them of little Service. There is a good Barracks ? of holding 10 Men and their Officers with a Store House & Magazine the latter of which will hold about 150 Barrels of Powder, the Store house is much the same with the other two. There is a kind of Wharf built after the manner of the Stage Heads, but the violent run of the Sea renders it difficult to Land very often. The above Wharf and Buildings and Platforms ? are kept up in repair according to M ? Stuarts agreement wth the Hon.^{ble} Board of Ordnance. The Guns and Carriages in all the three ? want to be puttied & Painted and Tampions particularly for those at Carboniere.⁵⁵

Also in 1757, it was reported that there were in stores: 143 round shot for 18-pounders; 130 18-pound cartridges; 13 barrels of powder; 5 handspikes; 5 carbines and 1 halbert; 100 hundred musket balls and 500 hundred flints; as well as many other pieces of equipment required for service of the guns.⁵⁶ In addition to the above, on September 1st, 1757, a letter was written to W. Franc. Day, the Ordnance Storekeeper at St. John's, directing him to deliver 8 barrels of powder, 20 round shot, 80 cartridges and 25 matches for cannon to Lieut. Theo Rogers at Carbonear for the store of the fortifications.⁵⁷ At that time, the reports indicate there was 1 Lieut. Fireworker, 1 Gunner and 3 Mattresses stationed at the facility.⁵⁸ For the years 1758,⁵⁹ 1759⁶⁰ and 1760,⁶¹ only 3 Mattresses are listed for Carbonear, presumably for service on the island.

In the fall of 1762, the final military engagement between Britain and France in Newfoundland (and in British North America, for that matter) occurred. The British victories at Louisbourg (1758), Quebec City (1759) and Montreal (1760) virtually ended the French presence in North America and led to the opening of peace negotiations under conditions of great disadvantage to France. In a final ditch effort to gain bargaining power, the French government dispatched a naval force with approximately 800 troops to attack Newfoundland (Ransom 1991). On June 24th, 1762, French troops under the command of Colonel Le Comte d'Haussonville landed at Bay Bulls and proceeded overland in a northerly direction. Three days later they successfully invaded St. John's with hardly a shot fired (Jenzen 1985). Subsequently, a number of small fishing craft were refitted and set sail to the north to disrupt the British fishery in Conception Bay and Trinity Bay, and to pillage food and resources to help support the occupation of St. John's. At Carbonear, because the fortifications on the island were reported to have been unmanned and in an advanced state of disrepair⁶² (as an attack at that point in time when the war was drawing to a close was thought unlikely), in mid-August French troops more or less walked ashore unhindered, occupied the site for a brief period, and burnt and destroyed all existing structures prior to departing.

Little is known of the French occupation of Carbonear Island in 1762 except that, which is learned from contemporary site plans and one brief report. Even though the material produced by French Cartographer Marc Antoine Sieur de Cinq Mars is technically the earliest and shows what was on the island at that time, because it is dated the following year, the plans produced by JJW de Barres shortly after the French withdrawal and handed over to Colonel William Amherst in 1762 are discussed first.

Figure 4.4 A Plan of Harbour Grace, Carbonere Harbour, Musketa Cove &c in Conception Bay, in the Island of Newfoundland. 1763



The large-scale aerial view produced by de Barres entitled, *A Plan of Harbour Grace, Carbonere Harbour, Musketa Cove &c In Conception Bay, in the Island of Newfoundland*, shows a number of buildings and stages situated along the shoreline of the various communities, as well as water depths and navigational obstacles at several locations. In Harbour Grace, for example, a large sandbank projects out into the harbour on the south side just west of the entrance. Also shown on the plan are Harbour Grace Island and Salvage, and another smaller rock a short distance to the northeast (Figure 4.4).⁶³

A detailed drawing of the island was also produced to accompany the above aerial view. Entitled, *A Sketch of Carbonere Island, situated at the Mouth of Carbonere Harbour, in Conception Bay, in the Island of Newfoundland*, it is by no means a clear copy but does, nevertheless, provide significant insight into the range of structures (military and otherwise) in place at the time of the French occupation in 1762. A notation at the base of the plan reads:

A Report of Carbonere Island, on the Entrance of Carbonere Harbour, in Conception Bay, in the Island of Newfoundland. Carbonere Island is Surrounded with an Almost perpendicular Rock, accessible only at the Landing place FF, And even there the ascent on the Bank might, with small labours, by stiffning its declivity, repairing the Old Intrenchments 66666, and erecting a few Batterys, rendered impracticable-

In addition to the above, a legend on the plan lists the structures on the island (some of which were undoubtedly used for the fishery) that were “Burned and entirely destroyed by the Enemy..”. Included were:

- ?? A, Barracks
- ?? B, Powder Magazine, and Provisions Store
- ?? C,C two five Gun Batterys
- ?? D, M.^r Pike’s House and Store House
- ?? E, M.^r Pinn’s House

A second set of notations describes the different works De Barres considered necessary to reinstate the fortifications to an appropriate level of security. Listed under “New works proposed to be erected for the defence of the Island”, are:

- ?? 1, A Battery of 4 Guns
- ?? 2, Dto of 1 Gun
- ?? 3, Dto of 4Guns
- ?? 4, Dto of 2Guns
- ?? 5,5,5, Three Block houses for lodging the Troops, with a Ditch and an Intrenched

Communication to each other four Six Pounders might be fixed in each Blockhouse.

A final notation written at the base of the plan states that “Carbonere and Grace’s Harbours, Musketa, Crockre’ and Clowns Cove, can at any time muster up above 600 able fighting Men-, Most of the Inhabitants Seem to remain Wealthy, notwithstanding their considerable loss, sustained by the Destruction of their fish flakes and store houses &c.

NB a Couple Mortars would be of great Service upon the Island against Ships- (Figure 4.5).⁶⁴

A leading figure in the French force during the campaign of 1762 was Cartographer Marc Antoine Sieur de Cinq Mars. During the 11-week occupation of the east coast of Newfoundland he made observations and measurements and supervised the gathering of field data, which the following year was transcribed into detailed colour plans at Toulon, France. The complete set of de Cinq Mars’ drawings, which include plan and sections perspectives of St. John’s, Ferryland, Carbonear, Placentia and Trinity Harbours, illustrate that the French had executed a well-designed strategy to gather intelligence on the characteristics of the principal merchant settlements in Newfoundland and how they were defended (Handcock 1988: 150).

The de Cinq Mars area overview entitled, *CARTE des Environs du Ports Carboniere de Mosquitto et de l’isle Carboniere avec ses Batteries pour la defence des dits Ports dans leure Etats actuale. 1763, Nouvelle Angleterre*, is very detailed indeed as regards the natural and cultural landscape of that part of Conception Bay. In Carbonear, for example, he shows numerous buildings, wharves, flakes and gardens situated along the waterfront and slightly inland on the north side of the harbour. He also depicts a similar degree of occupation on the south side of “Port De Mosquitto” (Figure 4.6).⁶⁵ In fact, the area-drawing is so detailed and shows so much more development than indicated by the contemporary English illustrations (Figure 4.4), that one wonders, in the first instance, if it is accurate and, if so, how the French Cartographer and his team could have compiled that amount of information in so short a period of time. One must bear in mind that the French occupation of the east coast of Newfoundland was only 12 week or so and during that period, five settlements, including St. John’s, were surveyed and undoubtedly sketched - an extraordinary feat by any standards. Nonetheless, the question of accuracy still remains. Given that the combined winter population of Carbonear and Mosquito in 1753 was reported to be 622,⁶⁶ with that number probably doubling or even tripling in summer, the amount of activity indicated for August of 1762 could well be correct and not the product of embellishment for political or personal gains. Unfortunately, the only reference made in de Cinq Mars’ report obtained from France for this study about these two settlements was that neither appeared to be very well protected from the sea but, nonetheless, were key ports with considerable infrastructure in place for preparing and drying cod fish.⁶⁷ It is not surprising, therefore, that the cannon on Carbonear Island (as seen from the trajectory shown on Figure 4.6) were positioned strategically to secure the entrances or roadstead into those harbours.

[illegible]

A Sketch of Carbonev Island, situated in the Mouth of Carbonev Harbour, in Conception Bay, in the Island of Newfoundland. 1763.

Figure 4.6 *CARTE des Environs du Ports Carboniere de Mosquitto et de l'isle Carboniere avec ses Batteries pour la defence des dits Ports dans leur Etats actuelle. 1763*

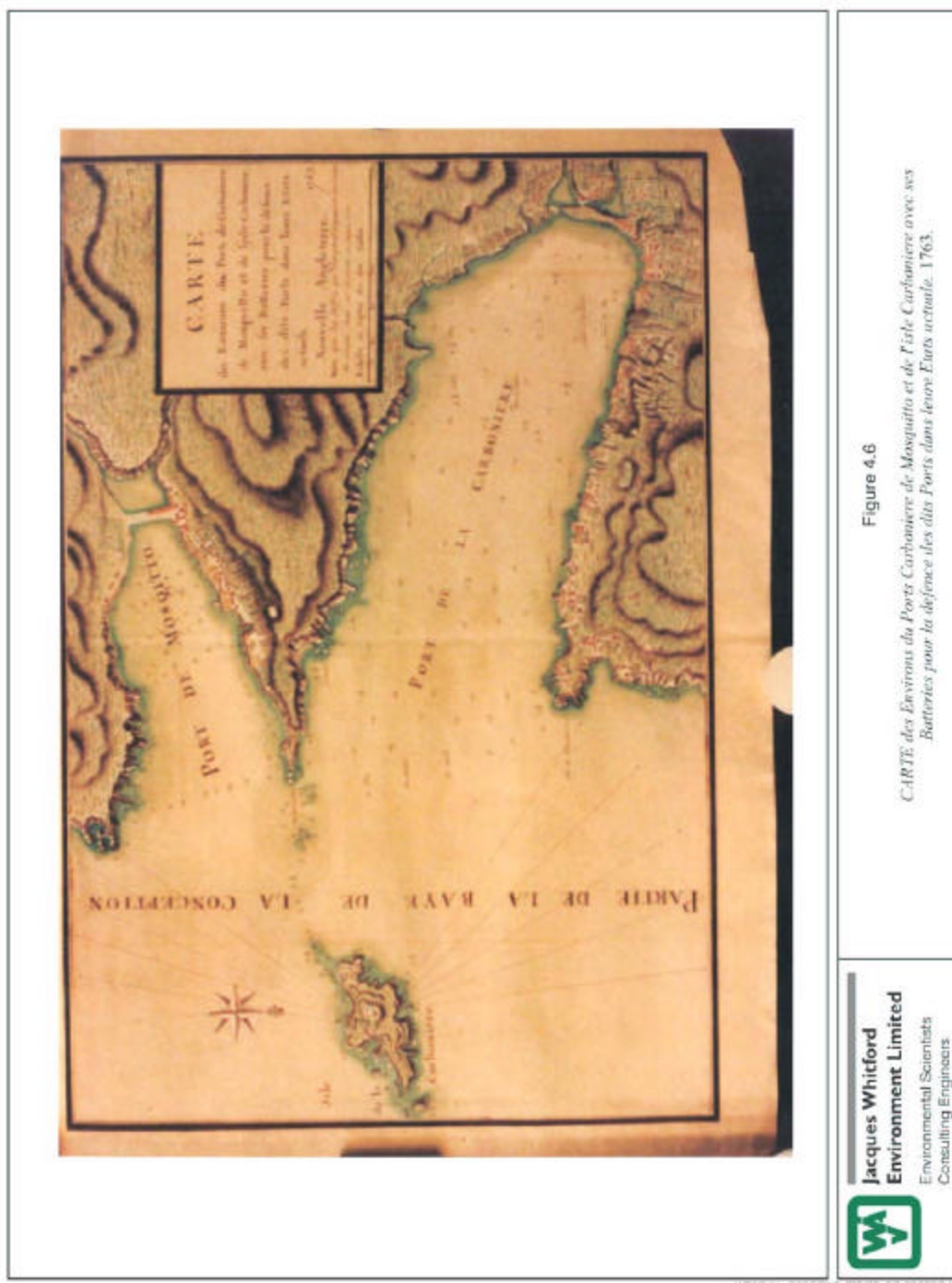


Figure 4.6

CARTE des Environs du Ports Carboniere de Mosquitto et de l'isle Carboniere avec ses Batteries pour la defence des dits Ports dans leur Etats actuelle. 1763.

The detailed drawing of Carbonear Island prepared by de Cinq Mars in 1763 from data collected the previous summer is equally valuable from the point of view of understanding land use (Figure 4.7).⁶⁸ Entitled, *PLAN Particulier de L'isle de la Carboniere En Amerique Relatif a la Carte de Cette partie avec les projets pour la defence et celle des ports de la Carboniere et Mosquitto dans la baye de la Conception, Nouvelle Angleterre*, it shows what was in place on the island in 1762 prior to being destroyed, as well as the extensive facilities proposed for construction at the southwest end in the event France retained control of the area. The fact that the French Engineers produced the plan and section drawings for improvements to the fortifications, suggests, perhaps, that they too thought it a good location for the defence of these key settlements. The information included in the plan's legend detailing what was actually on the island is listed and translated below.

- ?? A Batterie de 5 Canons (Battery of 5 Cannon)
- ?? B Batterie de 5 Canons (Battery of 5 Cannon)
- ?? C Magasin a poudre (Powder Magazine)
- ?? D Cazaerne ou barrique pour 20 hommes d'infanterie, 20 d'artillerie et deux officiers (Barracks for 20 Infantrymen, 20 Artillerymen and two Officers)
- ?? E Mamelon versant du cote de la mer ou la Descente est tres facile. L'ancien Retranchement garni d'artillerie et de Mousquellerie en Defend l'access (Hill sloping to the seashore where the descent is very slight. The old well-lined Retrenchment of the artillery and musketry to defend the access).
- ?? F Maison ou Barrique pour trois hommes d'artillerie (House or Barracks for three Artilleryman)
- ?? G Maisons ruinees qui appartiennent aux habitants (Ruined houses owned by the inhabitants)

As regards the additional works proposed for Carbonear Island, listed under the heading Projects, it would appear from the drawing that the majority would be situated at the southwest end overlooking the Landing Place where any attempted assault would most likely occur. Included in that general area would be more extensive earthworks and Intrenchments, addition Batteries and a Guard House, as well as a wharf or docking facility situated off the most prominent point of land near the narrow beach. Directly to the west of the I-shaped Barracks and Quarters completed by Royal Engineers c. 1748, there would be two new buildings constructed as accommodation for Soldiers and Officers (Figure 4.7). Nowhere on the French plans or in the associated correspondence is it implied or clearly stated that the fortifications and civilian buildings on Carbonear Island were destroyed in 1762.

In summary, the de Cinq Mars plan of Carbonear Island from 1763 (Figure 4.7) is yet another extremely valuable illustrative resource that provides further insight into the extent of occupation in the mid-eighteenth century by military and civilians personnel. It confirms that, in addition to Board of Ordnance properties (which by that time may have been in a state of disrepair), there were several other buildings owned by residents of the area (including a Mr. Pike and a Mr. Pynn), that may have been used at certain times of the year for fisheries-related activities. Several of these properties (listed as G in the Legend translated above) may also have been somewhat dilapidated.

Figure 4.7 *PLAN Particulier de L'isle de la Carboniere En Amerique Relatit a la Carte de Cette partir avec les projects pour la defense et celle des ports de la Carboniere et Mosquitto dans la baye de la Conception, Nouvelle Angleterre. 1763.*



Moreover, the drawing indicates that in the 1760s several areas of the island had been developed into small gardens, no doubt for the cultivation of vegetables. Whether this activity was part of military duties or was civilian-based is unknown.

A third plan of Carbonear Island related to the French occupation of 1762 was also located at the PANL in St. John's. Entitled, *PLAN of CARBONERA ISLAND situated at the Entrance of CARBONERA HARBOUR in CONCEPTION BAY NEWFOUNDLAND*, it includes a notation at the base indicating that it was the work of Chamberlain from April 7th, 1763 (Figure 4.8).⁶⁹ Essentially, it is a copy of the slightly earlier drawing by de Barres and contains more or less the same information (Figure 4.5). It is, nonetheless, included in this report as it shows a clearer view of the island and what was in place and destroyed during the French occupation, but without the overlay of the facilities proposed for constructed by the British Military. It is concluded that it is probably an incomplete copy and represents a work-in-progress (Figure 4.8).

Because the text on the plan differs slightly from the earlier English rendition of Carbonear Island, it is included below for reference.

?? Barracks
?? Powder Magazine and Provisions Store
?? C,C. Two five Gun Batteries
?? D M.^r Pikes's Store and House
?? E M.^r Pinn's Ditto
?? FF Place of Landing.
?? GGGGG. Old Intrenchments to Prevent the Landing.

Intirely Burn'd and Destroyed by the French on the August 1762.

Carbonera and Grace Harbours, Musketa, Crockress, and Clowns Cove, can at any time, muster up above 600 Fighting Men, these with their most Valuable effects, might upon Emergencies retire on Carbonera Island. most of the Inhabitants seem to remain Wealthy, notwithstanding their Considerable loss Sustained by the Destruction of their Fish Flakes, Store Houses & c.

[illegible]

**Jacques Whitford
Environment Limited**
Environmental Scientists
Consulting Engineers

Writing about the ease with which Carbonear Island was taken in 1762, the following statement by Lord Colvill (Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's ships in North America) summarises succinctly the circumstances that led to and undoubtedly prevailed at the time.

The island of Carbonera, in Conception bay, has had no other garrison for many years but a few old men of the artillery, to take care of the guns and ordnance stores. Had some of the inhabitants of the adjacent coast taken post here, they might easily have defended it against any force, as the island is inaccessible on all sides, except one narrow landing place, and no safe road in the neighbourhood for the great ships; but the enemy landed in boats, and destroyed the whole without resistance.⁷⁰

4.1.3 Post-1763 (Board Of Ordnance Withdrawal From Carbonear Island)

The signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763 officially marked the end of military activities on Carbonear Island. Despite the fact that it continued to be used as a seasonal fishing room well into the twentieth century, the facilities put in place or upgraded by the Board of Ordnance in the 1740s for the defence of the area were never rebuilt. Even during the American Revolution of the late 1770s and early 1780s (when, on a number of occasions, privateers disrupted the fishery and threatened several communities), and the Napoleonic Wars which persisted from 1793 to 1815, no reference is made in documents to fortifications being raised on Carbonear Island. It appears that during both those conflicts, defence facilities were established directly in the communities of Carbonear and Harbour Grace.

The decision not to reinstate Carbonear Island may, in part, be due to recommendations put forth by Engineer Capt. Hugh Debbieg in the late 1760s following his comprehensive survey and assessment of the fortifications on the east coast carried out in association with Commander Hugh Palliser, the recently appointed Governor of Newfoundland. One of the primary objectives of his tour of duty was to make a determination (based on first-hand observation) as to whether the works formerly used in the out harbours (some of which were destroyed by the French in 1762) should be repaired and upgraded, or totally abandoned and an entirely new strategy put in place for the defence of the fishery which, in his opinion, was worth an estimated value of £500.000-750.000 per annum. In one of his several extensive reports dated at London the 18th of October 1769, Debbieg implies that Carbonear Island should not be refortified, mainly because of the harbour's size and "...not one nor many Batteries will hinder the Ship of an Enemy from Anchoring in, and of course sharing the Port with us...".⁷¹ On a similar theme, he reiterated that for the same reason "...the Enemy may Anchor his Fleet therein, and carry on his operations with as much ease and Security as he could well desire...".⁷² Because no effort was made to reoccupy the island, it must be assumed that Debbieg's recommendations played some role in that decision.

In 1776, during the American Revolution, a number of petitions were sent to St. John's from the different out harbours requesting arms and supplies for protection from privateers who were known to be harassing fishing vessels along the coast. Replies to these requests sent to Trinity and Ferryland by Governor Montague mention that he had been directed to ensure that only two war vessels remained in Newfoundland for the winter: one at St. John's and the other at Placentia. In each letter he states that he wishes he could comply with all the requests, but circumstances beyond his control will not allow him to do so. No actual petition for arms was sent to St. John's from Carbonear, although it was stated by Montague in a letter to Ferryland that he fully understood that the people of Trinity and Harbour Grace, for example, were in need and that they should prepare themselves the best they could for a potential attack.⁷³

In September 1778, the principal merchants of Harbour Grace drafted a letter stating that they would not be able to erect the fortifications suggested by Royal Engineer Lieut. Col. Robert Pringle for the defence of their town as a result of a lack of participation of the residents. No mention is made of Carbonear, and the fact that Pringle travelled from St. John's to Harbour Grace, could suggest it and not Carbonear Island was the preferred location for defences for the residents of the region.⁷⁴

Finally, in the spring of 1779, a plan of action for the defence of Newfoundland and Labrador was put in place. It was agreed that the inhabitants of the principal ports would "...throw up some Works for the Security of their Craft and Stages against the attack of Privateers..." and that cannon for the fortifications would be furnished by the Board of Ordnance from an inventory of approximately forty slated to be transported to Quebec. In addition, it was approved that 700 small arms and sufficient ammunition be sent to Newfoundland and distributed among the "Principal Fisherman" according to their needs. The small arms and the cannon were to be returned to the King's Store once peace had been restored.⁷⁵ That there were problems and concerns raised by the inhabitants is made clear by the statement from 1779 indicating that "Not one vessel in ten hath arrived this year, by means of Privateers...".⁷⁶

Although approved in April of 1779 by Governor Edwards, correspondence indicates that the arms were not distributed until later that fall. It would appear from the document that the south coast of Labrador and Trinity, as well as several communities along the east coast of the Avalon and in St. Mary's Bay, were provided for. It is of note that no mention is made of any locations in Conception Bay.⁷⁷ In another letter written by Governor Edwards at Portsmouth on December 9th 1779, he mentions that it was his understanding that most of the out harbours to the east of Placentia were, by the time of his departure from Newfoundland for the winter, provided for and able to defend themselves.⁷⁸ In *An Account of Ordnance and Ordnance Stores from His Majesty's Stores at Saint John's for the Defence of the different Ports in Newfoundland*, no mention is made of Carbonear, however, at Harbour Grace, a W. Garland was put in charge of the materials sent out, which included two 9-pounders and powder.⁷⁹

For reasons unknown, in 1796 a copy of an earlier plan of Carbonear Island was prepared by C. Vernon (Figure 4.9).⁸⁰ Entitled, *PLAN of CARBONERA ISLAND situated at the Entrance of CARBONERA HARBOUR in CONCEPTION BAY Newfoundland*, it contains essentially the same information as the earlier drawing signed by Chamberlain in 1762 (Figure 4.8). Why it was compiled at this late date is uncertain, as it does not appear to have been associated with any contemporary report filed with the Board of Ordnance. Whether it was related to the attempted assault on St. John's and efforts by a French squadron under the command of Admiral de Richery to disrupt the English fishery on the coast that year cannot be confirmed. It is, nonetheless, included below for review.

At the beginning of the War of 1812, Capt. Bamey, commander of His Majesty's Ship *Comet*, delivered one 18-pounder complete with carriage and side arms to Carbonear and one 9-pound to Harbour Grace. However, no mention is made of Carbonear Island.⁸¹ In a report filed later the same year, the following details related to the defence of the area are provided. It reads:

This is not a secure harbour, as the entrance is wide and there is but little protection from the N. East winds; the anchorage is also bad. The Gun sent by the *Comet* was placed in Croakers cove point, and has command of the whole entrance; but as a vessel keeping to the opposite side would not pass within half a Mile of it, the harbour cannot be considered as well defended. It would therefore be highly advantageous to have a large Gun placed on Mosquito Point, which, beside the defence it would give by crossing the fire, and seeing the whole Harbour in reverse, would prevent any vessel from going into Mosquito Cove, where there is good anchorage and a number of inhabitants. This point is almost an island, as the neck joining it is very inconsiderable, and it might easily be made safe from an assault in the rear.

There are no guns [hear] at Carbonear; but on the Island opposite there are the remains of a Fortification, which time did not permit us to examine. But as it was expected the *Comet* would return here and Harbour Grace, the landing on the Island and many remarks on both places, were put off until that time.⁸²

It is of note that in the same report Harbour Grace is also discussed. It is mentioned that at that time (1812) there were two batteries laid out for its defence; one at Bears Cove and the other "about 150 yards above the point of the Bar." It is mentioned as well that the ordnance at Harbour Grace, not including that brought by the *Comet*, included two long 9-pounders in good condition and two 18-pounders which were old and rusted but still considered serviceable. There were also approximately 40 shot of different sizes on site, mainly for 18-pounders.⁸³ Throughout the remainder of the War of 1812, no reference is made to any activities on Carbonear Island, despite the fact that materials were sent for the defence of Carbonear⁸⁴ and placed under the direction of a J. Elison and a H.G. William Silly.⁸⁵

*Plan of CARBONER ISLAND situated at the Entrance to CARBONER HARBOUR in
CONCEPTION BAY NEWFOUNDLAND. 1796.*

A Historic Sites Plaque installed on the remains thought to be Harbour Grace Battery in the 1960s by the then Department of Tourism states that it was in use from 1779 to sometime after 1822. The plaque on the Battery at Carbonear states it was erected in 1812, but no other information is provided.⁸⁶

In 1827, Colonel Nicolls submitted a report to Master General of the Ordnance dated the 25th of August which contained a table with the heading *List of Out Harbours in the Island and on the East of Newfoundland, where there have formerly been Forts and Batteries, and where there are at present the following old Guns, considered for the most part unserviceable, and having neither Carriages nor Platforms*. For Carbonear Island, one iron 18-pound cannon is listed.⁸⁷

In 1841, Royal Engineer Edward G. Lloyd prepared a Sketch of Carbonear and Harbour Grace with the intervening road. It includes the harbours of Harbour Grace and Carbonear, as well Carbonear Island with what appear to be Earthworks or Intrenchments skirting the southwest edge over looking the Landing Place (Figure 4.10).⁸⁸ A close-up of the island prepared as part of the same collection is entitled, *Sketch of Carbonear Island - Appearance of the Island from the Harbour*. While not a particularly accurate or insightful rendition, it does, nonetheless, show Intrenchments and what are likely Gun Emplacements or Platforms, as well as what may be the Barracks and Storehouse and Magazine. Because neither of these building footprints are accurately represented, it is possible that Lloyd is showing entirely different structures. In summary, then, while the plan is of interest and suggests that some activity or requirement for the island necessitated its production at that time, its value as a document of land use would appear to be minimal (Figure 4.11).⁸⁹ It is uncertain whether it was prepared as part of a proposal or is simply meant to illustrate existing facilities. The fact it was prepared by a Royal Engineer does, however, suggest it was military in nature.

In a report dated the 18th of September 1858, it is learned that an individual associated with the Military (name unknown) was sent to Newfoundland for the purpose of “...instituting enquiries relative to any land which may belong to the Ordnance or War department reserved for Fortifications.” Regarding potential properties in Conception Bay, it is stated that only Carbonear Island, situated in the entrance to the Harbour, has property that could in any way be claimed by government. The report goes on to say that on “...Carbonear Island there are evident marks of its having been, in the eighteenth century, used as a place of defence and many persons residing at Carbonear recall that at one time there were thirteen cannon on the Island which had by that time either sunken into the earth or were tumbled into the sea.” As far as could be determined, there was no person who could rightfully claim possession of the island or any part of it. The individual, therefore, considered it to be exclusively the property of the Queen. Nonetheless, it was noted that “...Fisherman occasionally erect small stages upon the Islands and cure their fish upon temporary flakes but the cultivation of the soil is not attended to, in fact it is totally neglected.”⁹⁰

Figure 4.10 *Sketch of Carbonear and Harbour Grace with the intervening road. 1841*

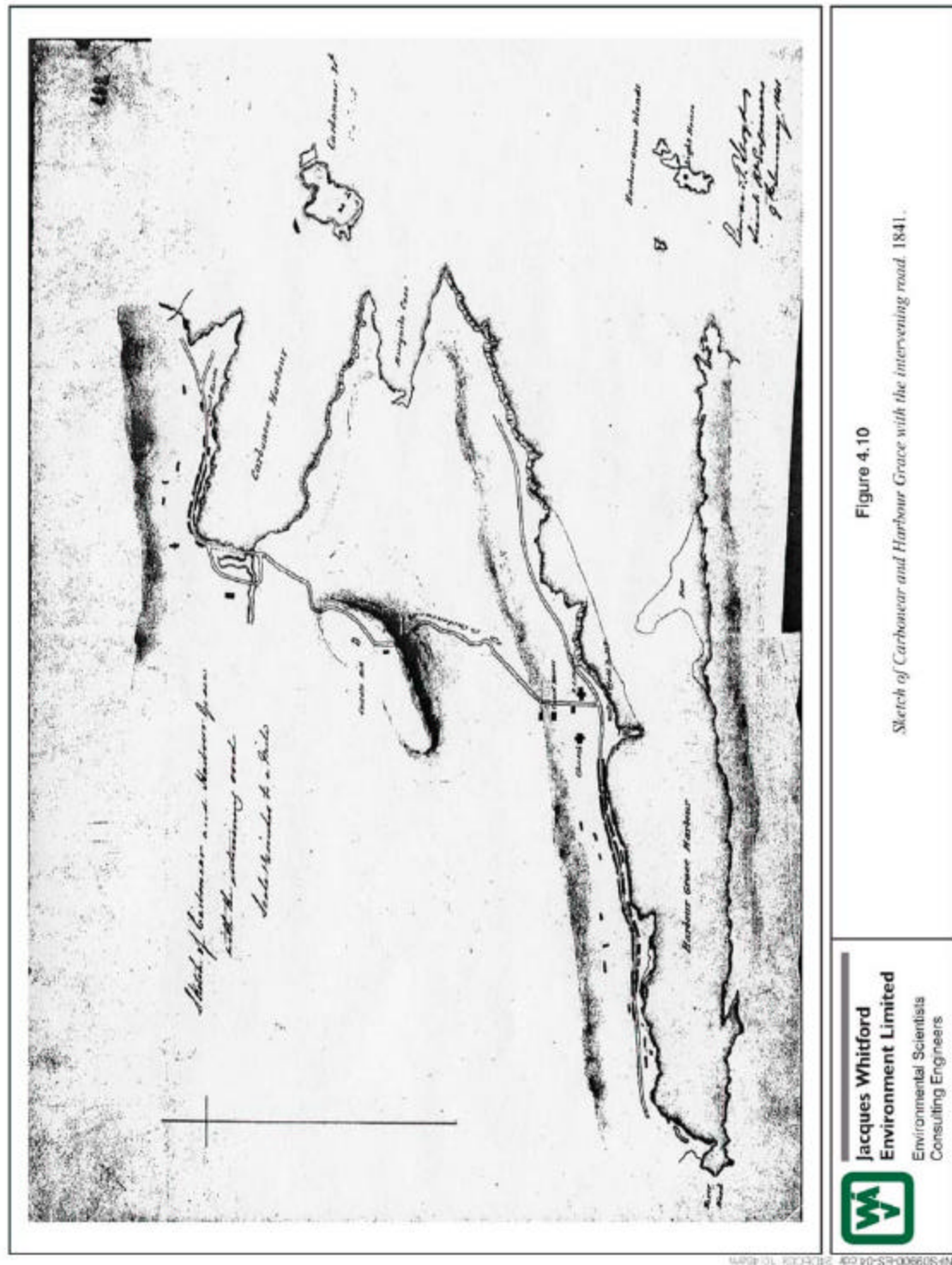


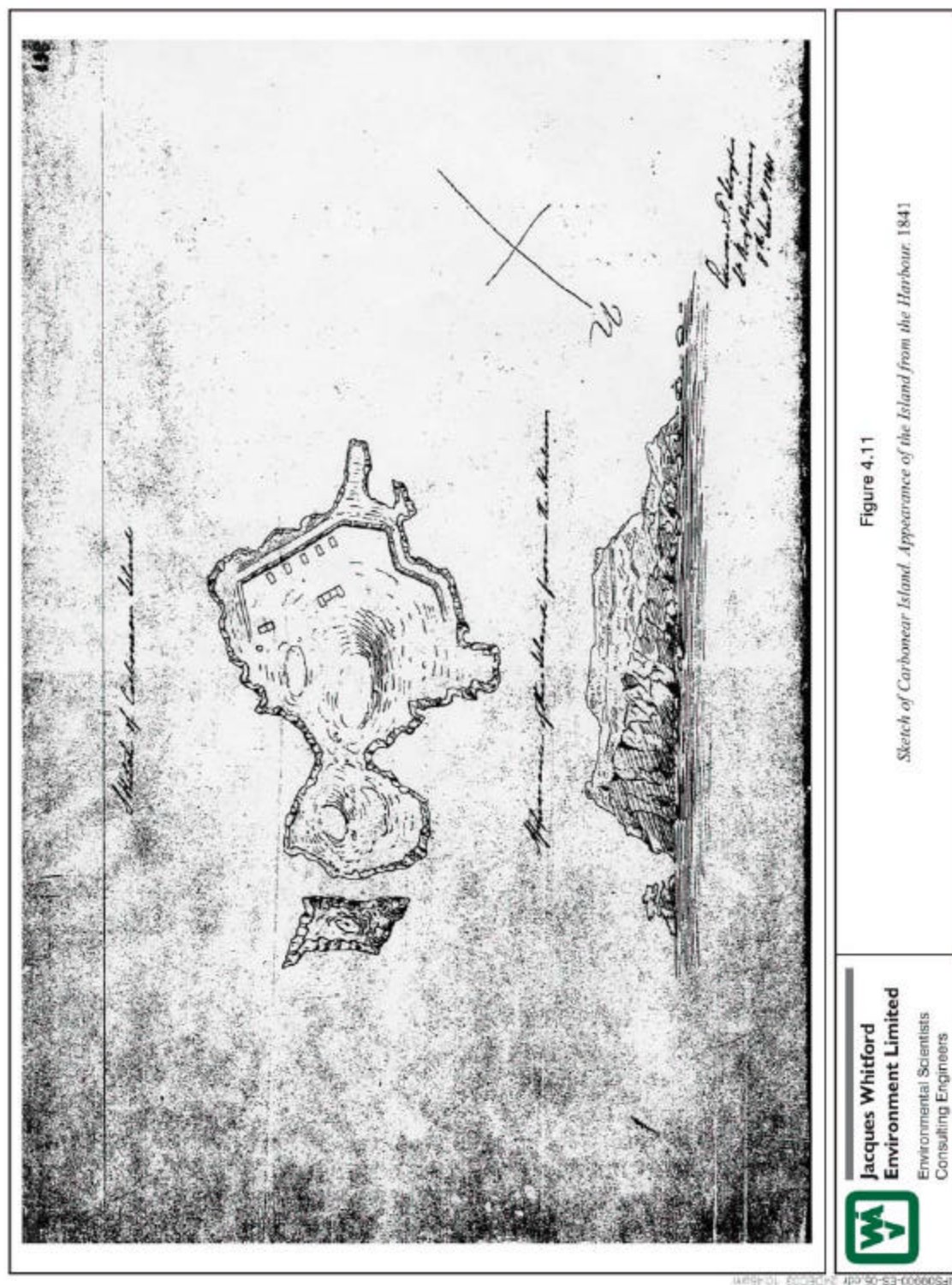
Figure 4.10

Sketch of Carbonear and Harbour Grace with the intervening road. 1841.



**Jacques Whitford
Environment Limited**
Environmental Scientists
Consulting Engineers

Figure 4.11 *Sketch of Carbonear Island. Appearance of the Island from the Harbour. 1841*



4.1.4 Construction and Maintenance of the Lighthouse on Carbonear Island

According to the 1905 edition of *Newfoundland and Canadian Lights and Fog Stations on the Coast of Newfoundland*, the lighthouse on Carbonear Island was first listed in 1878.⁹¹ Three years previous, however, it was reported that because the light station at Harbour Grace was situated in a dangerous location, it should be moved. A statement compiled by J.T. Nevill dated May 1874 states that “...If the light is to be removed, Carbonear Island seems to present the most eligible site for a new erection, and if placed there it will render the proposed light on Crocker’s Point unnecessary for the use of Carbonear...”.⁹² While one was constructed on the island, the one at Harbour Grace was maintained and not abandoned.

In 1878, it was reported that the “new building on Carbonear Island was inspected”, confirming that it was indeed completed that year.⁹³ From 1879-82, costs were included in annual budgets for repairs and maintenance. In 1883, it was reported that the keeper had passed away. Following a visit to the island, it was reported by Mr. Oke, the Keeper of Lighthouses in Newfoundland, that the work on the facility was “...very well being done.”⁹⁴

In 1888, it was reported that the station on Carbonear Island would have to be supplied with a supplementary red mast-head light to prevent confusion between its white light and the one proposed to be installed.⁹⁵ When inspected in 1890, it was found that the landing-wharf was in a very bad condition and repairs were necessary. They were carried out, but further ones would be needed in the spring.⁹⁶ The following year a number of repairs were completed to the wharf, but gravel eroding down the bank at the southwest end of the island caused some damage to the back of the store. Other problems such as leaks were reported for the lighthouse.⁹⁷

Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, annual reports compiled on the light station constantly outlined the need for maintenance and upkeep of the house and wharf, the latter frequently being damaged by ice and high seas. That repairs to the house were needed is not at all surprising, given the fact it was a wooden structure on a stone foundation situated in an extremely exposed environment with virtually no protection from the elements (Figures 4.12). A photograph of the building from *circa* 1900 shows its condition at that time (Figure 4.13).

Circa 1927, it appears that demolition of the facility was contracted to a resident of Bristol’s Hope. Mr. Clayton Pottle of Carbonear, who was actually born in the lighthouse in 1919, provided this information. Subsequently a new kerosene light was installed which, in the 1920s, was converted to gas as was common at the time. In the early 1970s, the light was battery-powered but was subsequently fitted with a solar panel in 1980s, a system that is still in use today (H. Chubbs, pers. comm.).

Figure 4.12 Lighthouse on Carbonear Island c. 1900

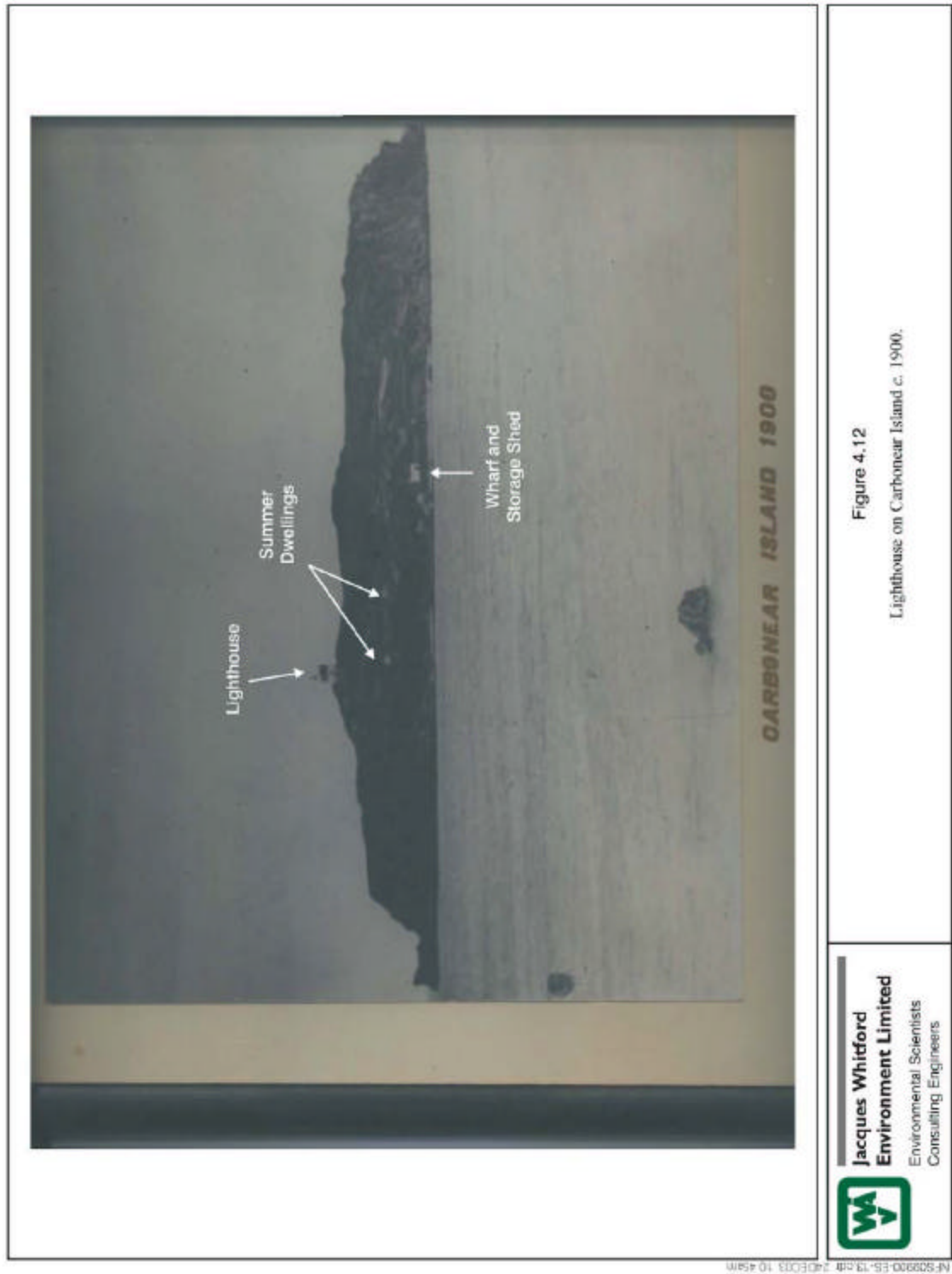


Figure 4.12

Lighthouse on Carbonear Island c. 1900.

Figure 4.13 Lighthouse on Carbonear Island c. 1900 (North View)



4.2 Field Reconnaissance

The discussion that follows is based on data gathered during the brief field reconnaissance of Carbonear Island completed on November 12, 2003. Due to the short duration of the trip, the conclusions drawn must be considered tentative and the locations shown for certain site features should be considered general. The information presented is intended primarily as a guide to help highlight areas of potential historic resources significance and to aid planners and researchers with any future activities that may be proposed.

4.2.1 Area A (Landing Place)

What was frequently referred to in the archival record as the Landing Place is situated at the southwest end of Carbonear Island on or adjacent to a small point of land that projects out beyond what little beach exists. While some cartographers such as Brewse, de Barres, Chamberlain and Verron, for example, use the term to describe the full length of the beach (Figures 4.1, 4.5, 4.8 and 4.9), others, including Durnford and de Cinq Mars, are more specific and show small, rectangular-shaped structures at the end of the headland and slightly to the south, indicating some sort of structures such as wharves, stages or flakes had possibly been erected there (Figure 4.3 and 4.7). In Scott's report cited above from 1757, for example, he noted that there was "...a kind of Wharf built after the manner of the Stage Heads, but the violent run of the Sea renders it difficult to Land very often." Nonetheless, the structure was in good repair at that time.

Several references to the Landing Place were also made in the nineteenth century in the annual reports filed in the House of Assembly records regarding maintenance of the Carbonear Island light station. These reports make it clear that maintaining a wharf at that location - which is virtually the only point on the island where one could go - was not without its problems, the principal factors being the constant swell and destructive effects of spring-ice. On a number of occasions in the twentieth century, wooden wharfs were situated off the point, but they too did not last (C. Pottle: pers. comm.). No evidence of ballast was noted on the seabed during the field reconnaissance. The historic resources significance of any such features would, in any event, be limited (Figure 4.14).

4.2.2 Area B (Intrenchments: c. 1690s to 1762)

Several military maps from the eighteenth century show a line of Intrenchments along the edge of the embankment at the southwest end of the island overlooking the Landing Place and beach. A 1779 definition included in a period military dictionary (Smith 1969), states that Intrenchments are raised earthen walls, typically constructed with materials excavated from a ditch or trench running along the inner side of the feature. Depending on the defence requirements, they can be either mounded and free-standing, or possibly wooden barrels or cloth bags filled with earth. Their principal function of these simply, yet effective defence works is to provide cover to troops from enemy fire.

Figure 4.14 Carbonear Island Site Plan



With the exception of the initial plan of the fortifications proposed for Carbonear Island in 1746 (Figure 4.1), all other illustrations located during the archival research, including the most recent from 1841, show the horizontal extent of the Intrenchments (Figures 4.3, 4.5, 4.7, 4.8, 4.9 and 4.11). Given that no effort was expended in establishing similar structures at other locations on the island, it is reasonable to conclude that the southwest end was the only place where a landing could conceivably occur. It is of note that de Cinq Mars' plan from 1763 (Figure 4.7), shows gaps or apertures in the Intrenchments which could indicate embrasures for small-calibre canon. He refers to it as "Retrenchements en cremailliers", suggesting a crenulated or broken wall.

During the field reconnaissance completed in November 2003, the remains of the earthworks above the beach were observed and photographed (Photos 3 and 4). While in certain areas along the length it appears that segments have eroded down over the bank, and the contours of the ditch on the inside have become less defined as a result of organic build-up from decomposing plant-matter and perhaps several episodes of re-building, the general configuration is nonetheless consistent with the eighteenth century description. As regards when the Intrenchments were initially put in place, in all probability they could

represent some of the earliest defences on the island. For example, it was noted in the Baudoin journal from 1697 that during one of the initial attempts to land “...We saw the enemy ranged [lined up] in large numbers who fired some cannon at us...”. Although no direct reference to the precise location is made, it is likely that the inhabitants were positioned behind some form of barrier such as an earthworks within musket shot of the narrow beach at the southwest end of the island. This is not to say, however, that the mounds of earth that currently remain were necessarily constructed at that time. It simply suggests that because a feature such as this would clearly have been essential during all periods of military activity, there is a likelihood that the initial construction was carried out in the seventeenth century, followed by several episodes of reinstatement during times of conflict. Consequently, any comprehensive historic resources development proposed for the island should integrate this key feature into any interpretative strategy. As well, any landing or staircase constructed from the beach to the terrace, or the positioning of interpretative plaques, would have to be situated based on archaeological data in order to avoid impact to the Intrenchments and any other associated structures or cultural materials that may be present.

4.2.3 Area C (Mr. Pike’s House and Store: c. 1750 to 1762)

On the four English maps of Carbonear Island from the eighteenth century, a number of buildings are shown for the area at the southwest end of the island. On the earliest dating to c. 1750, the buildings are not named or labelled; however, two are situated adjacent to an indentation in the shoreline referred to as Pike’s Cove (Figure 4.3). On the illustration prepared by De Barres in 1762 (Figure 4.5), two of the buildings are included in the legend under the letter D and are described as “Mr. Pike’s House and Storehouse”, which were burned and entirely destroyed by the enemy.

Photo 3 Remains of Intrenchments Overlooking Landing Place (Southwest View).



Photo 4 Remains of Intrenchments Overlooking Landing Place (Southwest View).



Other mapping from slightly later, but clearly based on De Barres' work, also show the structures in more or less the same location (Figures 4.8 and 4.9). de Cinq Mars' map from 1762 includes what appear to be the same buildings in a similar location and arrangement. He, on the other hand, describes the most southerly of the two as a house or Barracks for three artillery soldiers and the other as a house in ruins owned by inhabitants. Moreover, de Cinq Mars suggests that the ground to the west of the Pike premises was, at that time, under cultivation, which would not be at all surprising given that it is relatively level and well-drained (Figure 4.7). Because the buildings were likely owned by a local resident and not the property of the Board of Ordnance per se, it may be that they were seasonal dwellings and storehouses used only during the fishing season to allow easier access to fish stocks out in Conception Bay.

The fact that they were reported as burned most likely indicates they were constructed of wood, possibly supported on pillars or stone. If the occupation of these buildings extended over an approximately 12-year period from c. 1750 to 1762 as indicated by the archival record, the physical or archaeological evidence in the area where they were reported to have been situated could be reasonably extensive and representative of a mid-eighteenth century seasonal fishery. There is a possibility also that the buildings were used periodically in the winter during the Seven Years War (1756 to 1763). Moreover, because the area is relatively dry and level, there could well be other remains spanning the entire historic period, as it would be an obvious place to erect fisheries infrastructure.

Based on the historic resources significance and interpretative value of any *in situ* structural or artifactual remains, archaeological sampling of the area where the buildings are thought to have been situated is recommended. Accordingly, any development of that portion of the island would take these and any other resources into account, as they could represent a civilian occupation based, no doubt, on the fishery (Figure 4.14). Because that was the principal component of the economy and the reason why the military were established at such locations, interpreting one in light of the other could provide an interesting view of eighteenth century Newfoundland.

4.2.4 Area D (Mr. Pinn's House and Store: c. 1750 to 1762)

The information provided above for the buildings reported on mapping to have been owned by Mr. Pike is very similar to that for those owned by Mr. Pinn. Therefore, a discussion of the archival record and the implications for archaeological research and interpretation is probably not warranted. It will suffice to say, however, that even though the archival record suggests that the Pike and Pinn premises were in place by c. 1750, there is a high probability that the relatively level and well-drained southwest end of the island was occupied for fisheries or defence-related purposes prior to that time (Figure 4.14). The initial use by European fisherman could date to the early-seventeenth century, if not earlier. There is also a possibility that prior to that, Aboriginal peoples may have used this corner of the island periodically during the spring and early summer while hunting seals and birds, or harvesting eggs.

4.2.5 Area E (Magazine, Ordnance and Provision Stores: c. 1747 to 1762)

The earliest reference to a Magazine and Provisions Storehouse for Carbonear Island located during the archival research dates to 1744, when construction of these buildings was approved by government in England. In 1746, a basic plan was drawn-up, however, documents suggest work was not completed until late 1747 or early 1748 (these dates conflict slightly with information contained on a provincial government interpretative plaque positioned at the site, which states that the buildings were built in 1745). Similar to other facilities of this type from that period, those on the Carbonear Island would have been adjoining and constructed largely of stone (almost certainly with a fire-proof slate roof), with a single exterior entrance situated at the end of the Storehouse, in this case at the east end. Access to the Magazine would have been by way of a narrow, interior doorway located on the adjoining partition wall. An examination of the ruins of a Magazine and Provisions Storehouse built at the same time at Admiral's Point, Trinity, from almost identical plans, revealed that the masonry walls of the Magazine were approximately 1 m across - those of the Storehouse were somewhat sligher.

The remains of the Magazine and Provisions Storehouse on Carbonear Island, which was demolished by French Troops in 1762, are still prominent and extremely well-defined. They are situated on the south-central side of the island, to the east of the landing place (Figure 4.14). The site of the ruins is clearly outlined by more or less straight lines of grass-covered rubble that conforms to the original configuration of the structures (Photos 5 and 6). A brief examination revealed that the stone was bonded with a lime-based mortar and beach sand. The stone used in construction was likely acquired on the island.

Given the general appearance of the ruins, it seems likely that the state of preservation of the building-walls beneath the upper-most concentration of rubble is good. Almost certainly, substantial sections of wall, possibly standing 1 m in height or more, are *in situ* beneath sod and rubble. As well, it would not be surprising if sections of wooden floor joists and planking were still intact. As regards other cultural materials, with the exception of copper and iron nails, the range of artifacts inside the buildings may be limited, as anything of use was likely carried off by French troops during the occupation of 1762 or subsequently by individuals using or residing on the island. Nevertheless, the ruins of the Magazine and Provisions Storehouse are most certainly an integral part of the story of Carbonear Island and speak volumes to its past. Consequently, with little or no development other than cutting the grass and perhaps selective removal of a portion of the rubble to more clearly define the outline of the structures, they could comprise a significant part of a development strategy. Any such activities would have to be approved by the Provincial Archaeology Office (PAO) and conducted under permit from that regulatory agency.

Photo 5 Ruins of Magazine and Provisions Storehouse (South View)



Photo 6 Ruins of Magazine and Provisions Storehouse (West View)



4.2.6 Area F (Barracks: c. 1748 to 1762)

Similar to the Magazine and Provisions Storehouse described above, construction of a Barracks and Quarters on Carbonear Island was approved by government in 1744. *Circa* 1747, detailed plans for construction were drafted (Figure 4.2), however, it appears that the building was not completed until sometime in 1748. As illustrated, it was to include two kitchens and quarters for a Lieutenant, Gunners, Soldiers and Subalterns. The original drawing indicates that the building was to contain six individual rooms and measure a maximum length of just under 80 feet (24.4 m) by approximately 35 feet (10.7 m) across. The building would have three stone chimneys with a total of six hearths (presumably of stone and brick), and it appears from the dimensions shown on the c. 1747 drawing that the exterior and internal partition walls would also be of stone. As reported above, the Barracks was entirely destroyed by French troops during the summer of 1762. It may well have been occupied by some of those troops for a brief period that summer.

The ruins of the Barracks are situated on top of a height of land to the northwest of the Magazine and northeast of the Landing Place (Figure 4.14). Even though covered with grass and sod, clearly defined mounds of rubble more or less conforming to the c. 1747 proposed design are evident (Photo 7). Because materials are spread over a large area making it difficult to determine precisely where walls were located, no measurements were obtained. Nonetheless, the general outline observed in the field and shown on the 1988 aerial photography does suggest the footprint of the Barracks was laid-out according to plan - that is, two central rooms with larger wings at either end. Whether the walls were actually stone as proposed or wood, was not determined, however, the quantity of rubble could indicate they were.

The quantity of archaeological materials at this location could be extensive and include a wide range of ceramic, glass, metal and organic objects dating to the mid-eighteenth century, if not earlier. Because the terrain on which the Barracks was constructed is reasonably level and presumably well drained, and is set back from the shoreline and out of range of musketry, could suggest that other earlier quarters were constructed here by the inhabitants retreating to the island during conflicts in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. It is not at all uncommon when erecting a new building similar in purpose to an older structure, to select a location previously occupied or tested. Consequently, site mapping and targeted archaeological sampling of the 1740s Barracks site could clarify the true configuration and state of preservation of that building, as well as determine whether remains of older materials and structures are present. In summary, the potential for interpretation of this location is considerable.

4.2.7 Area G (Privies: c. 1748 to 1762)

As mentioned previously, the proposal for construction of a Barracks on Carbonear Island also included two small buildings of approximately 5 feet² (1.5 m²), which, according to the plan-view, appear to be Privies (Figure 4.2). On the c. 1750 drawing of the fortifications, only one rectangular structure adjacent to what may be a garden is shown (Figure 4.3). The 1762 plan of Carbonear Island prepared by de Barres for Amherst shows two structures to the southwest of the Barracks (Figure 4.5). de Cinq Mars, on the other hand, includes only one in roughly the same location (Figure 4.7). Given that he and his team of cartographers were presumably among the last to step foot on Carbonear Island prior to its being destroyed by French troops, it could be that his rendition is accurate.

During the field reconnaissance completed in November of 2003, the area to the south and southwest of the Barracks where Privies were reported to have been situated was investigated for any obvious physical remains or evidence. Several depressions were noted, one of which was of particular interest in that it appeared to be associated with a deposit of field-stones that could have retained the earth on the inside of a pit excavated beneath a wooden superstructure. The location where the feature is situated is included on Figure 4.14 and is shown in Photo 8.

A comprehensive sampling of the area is warranted to determine if the depression identified is cultural and, if so, what is its nature and extent and are there other associated remains in the vicinity.

4.2.8 Area H (North Battery: c. 1748 to 1762)

Mapping and documentation from the eighteenth centuries indicates that two batteries of five, 18-pound cannon were constructed on Carbonear Island c. 1748. What is referred to as the North Battery was situated on the north side of the island to the northeast of the Landing Place (Figure 4.14). It was reported that its main purpose was to defend the entrance into Carbonear Harbour and Mosquito (now Bristol's Hope). The only description of the structure located in the archival record is from a 1757 report by Edmund Scott, who stated that the North Battery was constructed *en barbette*, was quite open and had a small ditch of about 12 or 14 feet (3.6 or 4.3 m) wide and 6 or 7 feet (2.1 or 1.8 m) deep in front of it. The cannon positioned on the battery would have been mounted on carriages situated on individual or a continuous Gun Platform.

Photo 7 Ruins of Barracks (East View)



Photo 8 Possible Site of One or Two Privies (South View)



As anticipated, the investigation of the North Battery confirmed that the structure was built of earth, mounded in such a way to form a raised, level terrace or platform overlooking the shoreline and harbour (Photo 9). It is reasonable to assume, based on the topography in the area, that a portion of the material used to raise the elevation for the battery was acquired from excavation of the ditch (Photo 10). The gentle slope of the ground directly in front of the battery on the outside of the ditch toward the cliff, may also have been part of the c. 1748 construction activities. Even though the annual reports filed by Royal Engineers suggest that the number of military personnel stationed at Carbonear was gradually reduced from 11 in 1749 to as low as two in 1757 and three in 1760, it appears that the North Battery was maintained and in a good state of repair until at least 1757. What remained of it was destroyed in August of 1762 by French troops and seamen under the command of Captain Chevalier de Boisgelin. Some of the ordnance from the battery can apparently still be seen on the beach below the site where they were thrown by Boisgelin's troops (N. Head, pers. Comm.). It seems unlikely, based on the documentary record, that batteries were established at Area H on the north side of the island in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries.

4.2.9 Area I (South Battery: c. 1748 to 1762)

The South Battery on Carbonear Island, constructed c. 1748, reportedly to defend the entrance into Harbour Grace and Mosquito, was also a barbett earthworks with a ditch excavated in front of a raised, roughly level, terreplein (Photo 11). One notable distinction, however, remarked on in documentation from 1748 was the fact that the defence works was enclosed with palisades in reverse, suggesting that a high-standing, fence-like structure of cut poles had been erected at the back of the battery to provide protection from any assault from that direction. The presence of what appeared to be cut or dressed stone observed at two locations in association with the earthworks could suggest some form of revetment or means of stabilizing the battery was used. It could, however, simply be a more recent excavation into the earthworks for a root cellar. Similar to the North Battery, the one on the south side of the island was also maintained until at least 1757 and was subsequently destroyed by French troops in 1762. What the reported destruction consisted of is difficult to imagine, but was probably no more than spiking of the guns and removal and burning of the wooden gun-carriages, any platforms and possibly the palisade. The location of the battery remains are shown on Figure 4.14.

Photo 9 Remains of North Battery (West View)



Photo 10 Ditch in Front of North Battery (Northeast View)



4.2.10 Areas J-1 to J-3 (Gardens)

Two plans of Carbonear Island from the eighteenth century show what appear to be vegetable or hay gardens. The earliest from c. 1750 includes only one on the high-ground adjacent to the Barracks (Figure 4.3). The second from 1763 shows at least three: two in the area between the Barracks and the Magazine and Provisions Storehouse, and another to the west close to the properties reportedly owned by Mr. Pike (Figure 4.7). During the field reconnaissance, at least two large cleared plots of land defined by low-standing stone walls were observed in the areas where they were reported to have been situated. The one to the south of the Magazine and Provisions Storehouse, for example, was laid out almost precisely as illustrated by de Cinq Mars (Photo 12). His rendition of the other adjacent to the Barracks was equally accurate (Photo 13). Both are clearly visible on the aerial photography of the island (Figure 4.14). However, the third garden shown by de Cinq Mars on his 1763 plan was not detected on the ground. This is not meant to suggest that it did not exist, but simply that no stone walls defining the perimeter were seen. This could be accounted for by the fact that parts of the west end of the island in the vicinity of the Landing Place (Area A) and Intrenchments (Area B) have the appearance of being good agricultural ground. When tilled, few stones may have been present, thus no walls were built. The locations where stone walls defining gardens were observed are plotted (Figure 4.14).

As regards how long Carbonear Island was used for agricultural purposes or for grazing animals, the documentary evidence suggests that it was occurring as early as 1750. Whether the gardens identified were established by the military at that time or predate their presence is unknown. It could well be that such activities began in the seventeenth century. Its relative isolation, lack of trees and reasonably fertile soil may have made it a desirable location from this point of view. Similar to other islands in the many bays and harbours along the coast of Newfoundland, Carbonear Island was also reportedly used in the late nineteenth for agriculture and in the early twentieth centuries for grazing cattle, sheep and horses (C. Pottle, pers. comm.).

4.2.11 Area K (Unidentified Structure - c. 1750)

One small, unidentified structure is shown on two eighteenth century plans of Carbonear Island: one from c. 1750 and the other from 1763 (Figures 4.3 and 4.7). The feature is situated on a height of land at the southeast end of the island toward the north side, and just beyond a large gulch or crevice in the cliff. The c. 1750 document does not include a title or description of the structure and it is shown strictly as two converging, darkened lines. On the other hand, the 1763 plan lists it as M (some sort of guard house) in the legend under the heading Projects, indicating it was not existing but was proposed or projected to be constructed in the event France retained control of the area. Whether there was an actual structure there at that time is not made clear by de Cinq Mars, however, the earlier English map suggests there was.

Photo 11 Remains of South Battery. Note Stonework in Foreground (East View)



Photo 12 Stonework Defining Garden South of Magazine (Southeast View)



Photo 13 Stonework Defining Garden South of Barracks (Southeast View)



Photo 14 Ruins of 1879 Lighthouse (Southwest View)



Due to the limited time available, it was not possible during the trip to Carbonear Island to investigate in a comprehensive way the height of land where the structure was reported to be. Because the area is strewn with rubble from demolition of the lighthouse and tower *c.* 1927 (see Section 4.2.12), locating the remains of an eighteenth century look-out (which was likely small to begin with), was not possible. As well, it may well have been constructed of wood with little or no physical evidence remaining. Nonetheless, the general location where information suggests it may have been is indicated on Figure 4.14.

4.2.12 Area L (Lighthouse: 1878 to *c.* 1927)

The lighthouse and tower built on Carbonear Island in 1879 was largely a wooden building supported on a stone foundation, which was apparently demolished *c.* 1927 (C. Pottle, pers. Comm.). A visit to the site indicated that stonework from the foundation is scattered over an area measuring approximately 10 m², with only intermittent segments near the base remaining *in situ* (Photo 14). No evidence of wood was detected. This is not too surprising, given that the structure were taken down and any useful materials may have transported off the island for use at another location. It is also possible that sections may have been burnt. The location where the lighthouse was situated is indicated on Figure 4.14.

4.2.13 Area M (Road To Lighthouse: *c.* 1878 to *c.* 1927)

The House of Assembly Records reviewed for the archival research project indicated that a roadway was constructed from a wharf at the southwest end of the island to the lighthouse at the far end. It was used to facilitate transportation of fuel for the light and other necessary supplies that would have to be delivered on regular basis. On a number of occasions in the nineteenth century, repairs to the roadway were budgeted for in the list of annual expenditures. Clear evidence of the roadway is most visible in the area just east of the Landing Place, where a cut into the bank was made to level the terrain as it winds along the side of the hill (Photo 15). The full length of the roadway from the wharf to the site of the lighthouse as determined from a 1947 and a 1988 aerial photograph, and a walk-over of the island, is shown on Figure 4.14.

4.2.14 Area N (Possible Barn: Late Nineteenth Century to *c.* 1920s)

Also investigated at the northeast end of the island were the remains of a collapsed field-stone structure or building-foundation situated adjacent to the roadway leading to the lighthouse (Figure 4.14). It is spread over an area measuring approximately 10 m² and appears to have been dry-laid rather than mortared. Generally, it has the appearance of being somewhat recent in origin (Photo 16). Information provided by an informant suggest that it could have been part of a barn or stable used by the lighthouse keeper to shelter cattle and sheep, which grazed freely on the island in the early twentieth century (C. Pottle, pers. comm.).

Photo 15 Roadway From Wharf To Lighthouse (Southwest View)



Photo 16 Unidentified Ruins Adjacent to Lighthouse Roadway (Northwest View)



4.2.15 Areas O-1 to O-3 (Unidentified Structures)

A number of unidentified, amorphous stone deposits, which may or may not be cultural, were identified during the walk-over of Carbonear Island and are worthy of investigation during any future archaeological survey. It is possible that one, situated at the western end in the meadow back from the Landing Place, could be the remains of a stone-lined, circular well (Photos 16 and 17). Information provided by an informant confirmed that there was indeed a well in that general area in the early twentieth century used to water animals (C. Pottle, pers. comm.). The location where it is situated is shown on Figure 4.14, as Area O-1. Another deposit to the east is shown as Area O-2 (Photos 18 to 20). A third (Area O-3) is also included (Figure 4.14).

Photo 17 Possible Stone-Lined Well, Area O-1 (Northwest View)



Photo 18 Possible Stone-Lined Well, Area O-1



Photo 19 Stone Deposit, Area O-2 (West View)



Photo 20 Stone Deposit, Area O-3



5.0 SUMMARY OF WORK

5.1 Key Findings

5.1.1 Archival Research

Starting as early as the seventeenth century, when the over-wintering population of Newfoundland was still relatively low, inhabitants of the principal fishing communities as far north as Bonavista established temporary, makeshift fortifications on defensible islands and headlands, where they could retreat to in times of conflict between Britain and France in their ongoing effort to gain control of the lucrative cod fishery. It was felt by government at the time that the many scattered settlements along the coast were indefensible and expendable, with seapower being the only reliable means of defence of the fishery. Consequently, the earliest fortifications were civilian in nature, erected by planters themselves, with little or no official sanction or support from the Crown.

The earliest confirmed reference to the use of Carbonear Island for civilian defence purposes dates to the winter of 1696, when 300 individuals from the area (a number which may be high) were reported to have established temporary facilities to secure themselves and their “effects” against attack from French soldiers and allies under the command of Pierre Le Moyne d’Iberville. Despite a number of attempts by the enemy to land, all efforts proved unsuccessful. Ultimately, they departed for Placentia, after having destroyed most of the communities and fisheries infrastructure in Conception Bay. Over the course of the conflict, d’Iberville caused extensive damage in English Newfoundland. He burned over 30 settlements, killed approximately 200 settlers and took some 700 prisoners, 400 of whom were transported to augment the populations of Quebec & Acadia (Ransom 2000).

In the early eighteenth century during Queen Anne’s War (notably in 1705), French troops again attempted to overtake Carbonear Island after residents had once again retreated there following the outbreak of hostilities. Even though the population during that period was still largely responsible for their own security and the protection of the fishery and its infrastructure, some degree of assistance in the form of arms was provided by the Crown. Correspondence from 1711 indicates that the winter population of the island at that time was made up of approximately 130 people from the area - a number which may represent a reasonable average for the entire conflict. Clearly, shelters and various other structures for storage and defence would have been in place during this and the previous war.

The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 brought relative stability to Newfoundland and little is known about the use of Carbonear Island during that time. It is reasonable to suspect, though, that similar to other temporary civilian fortifications, those on the island, no longer being required, rapidly fell into an advanced state of disrepair. There is a strong probability, however, that it continued to be used as a seasonal fishing room and for small-scale agriculture.

The outbreak of war in the 1740s saw a resurgence of activity and, for the first time, a number of facilities were designed and constructed on the island by the Board of Ordnance under the direction of Royal Engineers, thus marking a notable transition in the way government viewed protection of the Newfoundland fishery. Similar works were also constructed at Ferryland and Trinity, Trinity Bay. Included on Carbonear Island were a Barracks and Quarters and a Provisions Storehouse and Magazine, as well as two five-gun Batteries of 18-pound cannon. In 1762, when the French ravaged a number of the principal fishing communities along the east coast of Newfoundland from St. John's to Trinity, the facilities on Carbonear Island were entirely destroyed, along with a number of privately owned buildings, possibly used as part of a fishing room. This notable event marked the end of the use of Carbonear Island for defence purposes. During the American Revolution of the 1770s and the War of 1812, fortifications were established at Carbonear and Harbour Grace.

In general, the assemblage of historic plans and correspondence related to Carbonear Island appears to be reasonably reliable as regards the location of key components of the military facility and civilian structures present in the eighteenth century. Of particular value is the English plan prepared *c.* 1750 (Figure 4.3) and the French illustration prepared in 1763 in Toulon, France, from data compiled the previous summer (Figure 4.7).

In 1878, a lighthouse and residence for year-round occupancy was erected on the northeast end of Carbonear Island and was maintained until *c.* 1927, when it was demolished. Subsequently, an automated light station was installed, which is still used to this day.

In 1954, the events of 1697 and 1705 were designated by the National Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada as events of national historic significance. In the 1960s, the provincial government of Newfoundland and Labrador installed a number of Historic Sites plaques on the island.

5.1.2 Field Reconnaissance

Even though brief, the field reconnaissance of Carbonear Island proved extremely useful. The remains of several eighteenth century structures associated with the military history were identified and assessed, and plotted on a site plan. Generally, the state of preservation of the assemblage is considered good and no unauthorized excavation was noted. Also investigated were a number of nineteenth century structures associated with the lighthouse built in 1878. In addition to conclusive finds, there are other features and areas on the island that have significant potential for historic resources research. It is possible that the low-lying area at the southwest end may have been used by Aboriginal peoples prior to the arrival of Europeans in the New World, during visits to the island to hunt seabirds and marine mammals, and to gather eggs. That area may also contain evidence of an early fishery and a seventeenth occupation related to the 1696/7 French attacks. Other level and well-drained locations on the island away from the shoreline also warrant investigation.

5.2 Data Gaps

5.2.1 Archival Research

The principal data gap resulting from the archival research project would be the lack of first-hand English documentation relating to the French occupation of 1762. As well, other French documentation from that period and earlier could be sought, including any reports compiled by d'Iberville. For recent times, a comprehensive photographic record would be useful.

5.2.2 Field Reconnaissance

The principal data gap resulting from the field reconnaissance is the lack of accurate data related to the long-standing use of the Carbonear Island. This can only be resolved by completing a comprehensive archaeological assessment, involving mapping site structures for inclusion on a site plan, and sampling of all areas of historic resources interest to determine the overall nature and extent of resources, which could include remains dating to pre-contact times, as well as from the seventeenth through to the twentieth century. This information is essential if any development related to tourism is proposed for the island. It may also be required by the regulatory agency (the PAO) if tourist visitation is proposed.

6.0 CLOSING REMARKS

6.1 Site Significance

It is evident from the archival and field data presented above that Carbonear Island is a site of considerable historical significance, with a long-standing and diverse past dominated by several episodes of military or defence-related activities, but also including a seasonal fishery that may have persisted at varying degrees of intensity from the late sixteenth or seventeenth century to c. 1950. Site mapping leaves little doubt that it was established by at least the mid-eighteenth century. In more recent times, a lighthouse was constructed on the height of land at the northeast end that was subsequently demolished and an automated system installed, which is still in use to this day.

It can be said, therefore, that the island represents a kind of microcosm of the evolving state of the Newfoundland fishery and economy, and the measures and means put in place - initially by the inhabitants themselves and ultimately by government - to ensure the long-standing dominance of it and the continued flow of resources to and from the Old World. As regards interpretation or future research potential, there is an obvious link between the various aspects of Carbonear Island's past, as there is with the navigational light station established in 1878 to provide yet another type of security to the fishery and shipping in general. In the event it is established that Aboriginal peoples did, in fact, travel to the island in pre-contact times, this too would add still another dimension and level of understanding of the prolonged exploitation of the maritime resources of this area of Conception Bay. From an archaeological research perspective, the fact that the island would appear to have experienced predominately low-impact activities - such as farming and the movement of earth and stone for construction of buildings and defence works - could indicate that historic resources have seen relatively little disturbance. Consequently, evidence related to a prolonged history of intermittent use and occupancy could be present.

6.2 Preliminary Guidelines For Archaeological Research

If development of Carbonear Island is proposed, a comprehensive site mapping and targeted archaeological sampling project aimed at compiling an accurate record of the resource and the overall nature and extent of the occupation should be completed prior to and in conjunction with project planning and implementation. This would enhance and supplement existing data and help facilitate an accurate and all-inclusive interpretative strategy for the visiting public. Additional benefits of adapting such an approach would be multifaceted and include: a) the elimination or reduction of any unnecessary impacts to historic resources and migratory bird populations; b) ensuring that funding requirements for any subsequent research and site maintenance are kept at a minimum; and c) allow visitors to partake in and experience the many aspects of Carbonear Island's natural and cultural history in a cost-effective, responsible and sustainable manner.

7.0 GLOSSARY OF MILITARY TERMS

Barbette	A mound of earth, platform or other construction, in a fortification by means of which a gun can fire over the parapet.
Battery	In field artillery, its unit of combat, consisting of four pieces with their caissons, three to each piece. In fortifications, the entire structure erected for the emplacing, protection, and service of one or more guns, or mortars, together with the pieces so protected.
Cremaille	In field fortifications, is when the inside line of the parapet is broken in such a manner as to resemble the teeth of a saw, whereby this advantage is gained, that a greater fire can be brought to bear upon the enemy than if a simple face was opposed to it.
Ditch	In fortification, the excavation made around the works, from which the earth required for the construction of the rampart, parapet and banquette is obtained; also called fosse.
Earthwork	In fortification, a general name for all military construction, whether for attack or defence, in which the material employed is chiefly earth.
Embrasures	In fortification, an opening in the parapet, or a hole in the mask wall of a casemate through which cannon are pointed and discharged; a crenel.
En Barbette	A system whereby cannon fire over the parapet of the rampart, rather than through embrasures constructed in it.
Entrenchment	To construct hastily thrown-up field-works for the purpose of strengthening any force in position.
Fascine	In fortification, are a kind of faggots made of small branches of trees or brush-wood tied in 3, 4, 5 or 6 places, and are of various dimensions according to the purpose intended.
Gabbion	A large cylindrical wicker basket left open at the top and bottom, filled with earth and placed vertically to form revetments for the interior slopes of batteries or to form parapets.

Garrison	A body of troops stationed in a fort or fortified town; a fortified place, in which troops are quartered for its security.
Gun Platform	A strong flooring upon which a piece of ordnance, mounted on its carriage, is manoeuvred when in battery. Fixed platforms are used for casemate and barbette batteries in fortifications, and are constructed with the works.
Glacis	In fortification, the slope of earth, commonly turfed, which inclines from the covered-way toward the exterior ground or country.
Guard Room	The room occupied by the guard during its tour of duty.
Intrenchment	Any work that fortifies a post against an enemy that attacks. It is generally taken from a ditch or trench with a parapet. Intrenchments are sometimes made of fascines, with earth thrown over them, of gabions, hogsheads, or bags filled with earth, to cover the men from the enemy's fire.
Loophole	In old fortifications, are square or oblong holes made in the wall to fire through with small arms.
Magazine	In a literal sense, any place where stores are kept; but as a military expression, it means a powder magazine, although arms may at times be kept in it; also, a chamber in a gun for holding a number of cartridges.
Matrosses	Matrosses are properly apprentices to the gunners, being soldiers in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, and next to them: they assist in loading, firing, and sponging the great guns. They carry flintlocks and march along with the guns and store-wagons, both as a guard and to give assistance on every emergency. Sometimes spelled Mattorsses.
Parapet	A wall, rampart or elevation of earth or other material in front of a trench or emplacement which protects the occupants from fire.
Reverse	In a military sense, reverse signifies on the back or behind, such as a reverse commanding ground or a reverse battery.
Revetment	In fortifications, a strong wall built on the outside of the rampart and parapet to support the earth and prevent it from collapsing into the ditch.

Stockade	A line of stout posts or trunks of trees set firmly in the earth in contact with each other, usually with loopholes, to form a barrier or a defensive fortification. Also written stockade.
Scarp	In fortification, the side of the ditch adjacent to the parapet. When the ditch of a fortress is dry, the scarp is usually faced with mason-work, to render it difficult to ascent; and behind this facing there are often passages or casemates for a defence.
Subalterns	A form of officer.
Terreplein	In fortification, the flat surface of the rampart, on the front portion of which the parapet and banquette are formed, and of which the rear slopes down to the general level of the inclosure; the surface of the ground inside a work.
Trunnion	A cylindrical projection on each side of a piece, whether gun, mortar or howitzer, serving to support it on the cheeks of the carriage.

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8.4 Material Consulted at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies and the Map Room, MUN

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8.5 Material Obtained From The National Archives of Canada, Ottawa

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8.6 Material Obtained From the Public Records Office, London, England

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8.7 Material Obtained From the Service Historique de l'Armee de Terre, Chateau Vincennes, Paris, France

Report compiled by Marc Antoine Sieur de Cinq Mars to accompany his several plans of settlements in Newfoundland. Report entitled, *Isle de Terre Neuve, 1763*. Report based on observations made the pervious year during the French occupation of the east coast of the Island. Twenty-one hand-written pages.

9.0 ENDNOTES

1. Proposal of Wm. Downing and Thomas Oxford on Behalf of The Inhabitants. Read on 29 April, 1679. Taken from Prowse 1972, pg. 196.
2. All information related to d'Iberville's campaign into Conception Bay during the winter of 1696-97 was taken from a translation of the Baudoin Journal available at the CNS, MUN.
3. Reference from W. Hedges of 1st December 1702 upon the Petition of the Inhabitants of Carbonier relating to the State of the Harbour (C.O. 194/2, folios 299-300, CNS, MUN).
4. C.O. 194/2, folio 320, CNS, MUN.
5. Memorial from Newfoundland, March 1st, about fortifying Trinity and Carbonier, Read Feb. 11th 1703 (C.O. 194/2, folio 326, CNS, MUN).
6. A Relation of the Most Material Occurrences and Transactions at St. John's and parts Adjacent in Newfoundland during the Administration time of Lieut. John Moody from and after the 12th day of September 1704 (at which time the said John Moody was by ? Timothy Bridge Constituted Commander in Chief of Her Majesties Independent Company of Foot there, upon the Suspension of Chief Thomas Lloyd. Document read on 15 January 1705 (C.O. 194 3, folio 341, PANL).
7. C.O. 194/3, folios 334-335, PANL.
8. C.O. 194/3, folio 335, PANL.
9. C.O. 194/3, folio 335, PANL.
10. C.O. 194/3, folio 336, PANL.
11. Letter written to the inhabitants of Carbonear Island by J. Moody dated at St. John's, April 5^h, 1705 (C.O. 194/3, folio 336, PANL).
12. C.O. 194/3, folio 337, PANL.
13. Taken from Prowse 1972, pg. 246.
14. The act given by Rich^d Sampson in relation to the late affair in Newfoundland. Letter dated 18th June 1705 (C.O. 194/22, folios 117-119, PANL).
15. Capt. Lloyd's Memo (C.O. 194/22, folio 127, PANL).

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16. The Humble Petition of Several Merchants... (C.O. 194/22, folio 137, PANL).
 17. C.O. 194/3, folio 280, CNS, MUN.
 18. Memorial from W. Roope giving his Opinion that 30 Men be sent yearly to Newfoundland, and to the Governing that place in the Winter Season. Read, 12 February 1706 (C.O. 194/3, folio 401, PANL).
 19. An Address from the Inhabitants of Conception Bay to the board in favour of Major Lloyd. Read 13 Feb. 1706 (C.O. 194/4, folio 73, PANL).
 20. Carbonear Island in New Foundland

May it Please our Gracious Queen Ann of Great Britain, France and Ireland and defender of the faith.

We your Majesties most Loyal Subjects with humble Submission do send this express to give intelligence To your Gracious Majesties of y^e unfortunate news of y^e taking of your Majesties Fort at St. John's y^e 21st of December anno Domini 1709 and your Castle surrounded y^e next day following y^e Enemy where in number about one Hundred and Sixty, they received Little or none resistance, and your majesties subjects are in Deplorable Condition under Great Confinement in St. John's, we Your majesties Loyal Subjects that reside on this Island will by God assistance Defend our selves from this party of french till your majestie will send us relief, which we humbly beg to be with all expedition for we understand by our spy's that we have sent, that they are fortifying more and that they have sent an express to france by a ship that they have in the country for more ?, we humbly beg of your majestie to take it into Consideration to grant us relief with expedition, or else y^e french ship will be here to y^e eternal ruin of we your majesties subjects, and y^e last of this little part of this province we poses.

God preserve Queen Ann

January the sixth, 1709

Petition of residents of Carbonear Island to Queen Anne, 1709. (Taken from Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, Volume 1, pg. 347).

Note

It is of note that the document is dated January 6, 1709, yet it states that St. John's fell to the French on December 21, 1709, which must be meant to be 1708.

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21. Letter signed by Lieut. Moody at St. John's on 23 December 1709 (C.O. 194/4, folio 444, CSN, MUN).
 22. The document is contained in the Webber Collection at the PANL in a folder stating it was copied material from 1709. The reference provided is C.O. 194/22, Extracts, which may be inaccurate. It was, nevertheless, obtained from the PRO in London, England.
 23. Taken from Prowse 1972, pg. 270.
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 25. Ibid.
 26. At the Council Chamber Whitehall the 24th of January 1739. Letter written by W. Sharp of the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs (C.O. 194/10, folios 111-112, PANL).
 27. Proposal humbly offered for the Security of the Trade and fishery of Newfoundland, Dated 2nd January, 1740 (C.O. 194/10, folios 113-114, PANL).
 28. At the Council Chamber Whitehall, 31 July, 1740 (C.O. 194/11, folios 7-11, PANL).
 29. At the Court of Kensington the 19th day of July, 1744 (C.O. 194/12, folios 12-13, PANL).
 30. At the Court Kensington the 19th day of July 1744 (SP 41/39, PRO).
 31. Proposed Establishment of Artillery People for St. John's Ferryland and Carboniere in Newfoundland prepared pursuant to His Majestys Order in Council dated 19th July 1744 (C.O. 194/12, folio 23, PANL).
 32. A Portion of the Stores for the following Iron Ordnance proposed to be sent for Defence of Carboniere in Newfoundland pursuant to His Majestys Order in Council dated 19th July 1744 (C.O. 194/12, folios 25-26, PANL).
 33. Military Map Collection, MG 14 # 409, PANL.
 34. Military Map Collection, MG 14 # 412, PANL.

Alberta Wood, the Map Archivist at the Map Room, MUN, thought the plan of the Barracks and Quarters was authored by a Mr. Wybault. This conclusion may, in fact, be accurate, as his name does surface periodically in correspondence related to activities of the Royal Engineers in Newfoundland in the 1740s.

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35. The State and Condition of Carbonier, May the 23 1748 as reported by William Cook Esq., Chief Engineer of Newfoundland (C.O. 194/12, folio 73, PANL).
 36. A Return of the Detachment of the Royal Regiment of Artillery on Carbonier Island the 1st August 1749 (G.N. 2/1/a, Volume 1, folio 21, PANL).
 37. Establishment of the Train of Artillery at the following Places... (G.N. 2/1/a, Volume 1, folio 36, PANL).
 38. State and Remains of Stores on Carbonier Island from the 1st October 1748 to 30th September 1749 (C.O. 194/12, folios 151-155, CNS, MUN).
 39. MG13, W.O. 55/1813, reel B-3039, folio 63, NAC.
 40. Letter from W.R. Earle to Bastide dated December 23, 1748 (MG13, W.O. 55, volume 1813, reel B-3039, folio 63, NAC).
 41. MG13, W.O. 55, Volume 1813, reel B-3039, folio 65, NAC.
 42. Capt Bastide's Complaints, Mr. Wibaul's Answers. Report dated Nov. 17th, 1749 (W.O 55/1814, folios 1-32, NAC).
 43. Letter to His Grace the Duke of Bedford from ? Bradford. Dated at St. John's Aug. 10, 1750 (C.O. 194/25, folios 81-82, PANL).
 44. Copy taken from Prowse 1972, pg. 296.
 45. A Return of the company of the Hon. Edward Cornwallis's Regiment of the Detachment of the Artillery at St. John's, Placentia, Ferryland, Carbonier & Trinity in Newfoundland. Undated document read in December of 1750, indicating it probably relates to the past summer and fall (C.O. 194/12, folio 196, PANL).
 46. A Return of the Company of the Hon. Edward Cornwallis's Regiment and of the Detachment of the Artillery at St. John's, Placentia, Ferryland, Carbonier & Trinity in Newfoundland the 20th day of August 1751 (C.O. 194/13, folio 31, PANL).
 47. Return of Capt. Charles A Bridges company in the Honourable Col. Thomson's Regiment of Foot and the Detachment of the Train of Artillery in Garrison at St. John's Newfoundland, Ferryland, Carbonier, and Trinity this 1st August 1753 (C.O. 194/13, folio 137, PANL).
 48. C.O. 194/12, folio 184, PANL.

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49. Return of Captain ? Aldrige's Company in the Honourable Colonel Hopsen's Regiment of Foot and the Detachment of the Train of Artillery in Garrison at St. John's Newfoundland & Ferryland, Carboniere & Trinity this 11th Day of August 1755 (C.O. 194/13, folio 207, PANL).
 50. G.N. 2/1/a, Volume 2, folio 195, PANL.
 51. G.N. 2/1/a, Volume 2, folio 270, PANL.
 52. G.N. 2/1/a, Volume 2, folio 271, PANL.
 53. State of Ordnance and Stores for the Defence of the Fortifications at Trinity, Carboniere & Ferryland in the Island of Newfoundland reported the 17th & 25th July & ? August 1757 (C.O. 194/13, fol 235, PANL).
 54. To Edm.^d Scott ?, Engineer at St. John's By Command of Governor W. Hornby (G.N. 2/1/a, Volume 2, folio 348, PANL).
 55. Report of the Fortifications at Ferryland, Trinity and Carbonear in the Island of Newfoundland, as Reported to me by M. Edmund Scott at St. John's, 12 October, 1757 (C.O. 194/13, folio 237, PANL).
 56. Ibid.
 57. G.N. 2/1/a, Volume 2, folio 315, PANL.
 58. A Return of the Detachment of the Royal Regiment of Artillery Commanded by Lieut. G. Williams, 20th June 1757 (G.N. 2/1/a, Volume 3, folio 286, PANL).
 59. A Return of the Detachment of Capt. ? Company of the Royal Regiment of Artillery at St. John's, Trinity, Carboniere & Ferryland, Newfoundland as Reported to me 25 Sept. 1758 (C.O. 194/14, folio 10, PANL).
 60. Return of Capt. Walter Ross's Company Belonging to the 40th Regiment of Foot, and the Detachment of the royal Regiment of Artillery in Garrison at St. John's Newfoundland, and Ferryland, Carboniere and Trinity this 20th Day of October 1759 (C.O. 194/14, folio 28, PANL).
 61. Return of Captain Walter Ross's Company of the 40th Regiment and the Detachment of Captain John Dover's company... 19th June 1760 (MG 268 B-2-1, Volume 16, 56, PANL).

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62. In 1765, Lieutenant Griffith Williams R.A. who, according to Prowse, was stationed at Carbonear Island in 1745, published an account of the Colony. Referring to the defences of the Carbonear Island he stated that "...St. John's from 1745 to 1750 was very well garrisoned by four companies of Foot, a captain of artillery with about 50 men. It was also well supplied with all manner of stores and about 40 pieces of cannon. Ferriland, Carboniere and Trinity Harbours had each an officer of artillery with about 18 or 20 men and an officer of foot and 30 men. There were 200 small arms at each place for the use of the Inhabitants. If these defences had been kept up the French would not have succeeded in capturing these places in 1762..."

Even though the personnel reported by Griffith in the above statement to have been stationed at Carbonear would appear to be an inaccurate, his comment does provide some insight into the downgrading of the facility that occurred at that time (Taken from Prowse 1972, 296-297).

63. Military Map Collection, MG14 # 387, PANL.
64. The plan is signed by: JJW De Barres. It also reads: Copied by C. Pettigrew at P.R.O. Jan. 1927. Also: ? copy (maybe Direct) H.P. Bigger or Biggens (?) 15: II 27 (maybe 1927). The copy used in the report is a copy of what appears to be a 1762 original. Military Map Collection, MG14 # 403 PANL.

65. Military Map Collection, (MG14 # 400, PANL).

Copy. Original housed at SHAT, Chateau Vincennes, Paris, France.

66. Taken from Head 1976 pg. 98, note 39.
67. Taken from copy of report by Marc Antoine Sieur de Cinq Mars dated 1763 in Toulon, France, regarding activities in Newfoundland the previous year. Original at SHAT, Chateau Vincennes (Paris), France.

68. Military Map Collection (MG14# 397, PANL).

Copy. Original housed at SHAT, Chateau Vincennes, Paris, France.

69. Military Map Collection (MG14 # 405, PANL).
70. Copy of a letter from Lord Colvill, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's ships in North America, to Mr. Cleveland. Dated on board the *Northumberland*, in St. John's Harbour, Newfoundland, Sept. 20, 1762 (Taken from Prowse 1972, pg. 415).

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71. Extracts from the Report of Capt. Hugh Debbieg dated at London the 18th of October 1769 (C.O. 194/29, folios 36 to 44, PANL).
 72. Ibid.
 73. Montague to Carter, letter dated 23rd September 1776 (G.N. 2/1/a, Volume 6, folio 145, PANL).
 74. Letter to Governor Montagu from Merchants of Harbour Grace, dated 22nd September 1778 (G.N. 2/1/a, Volume 7, folio 126, PANL).
 75. Germain to Edwards dated 2nd, April 1779 (C.O. 194/34, folios 63-64, PANL).
 76. Taken from Head 1976, pg. 98.
 77. Letter signed by Governor Edwards at St. John's, 12th September, 1779 (C.O. 194/34, folios 71-72, PANL).
 78. Edwards at Portsmouth, 9 September 1779 (C.O. 194/34, folio 76, PANL).
 79. An Account of Ordnance and Ordnance Stores from His Majesty's Stores at Saint John's for the Defence of the different Ports in Newfoundland by Order of Governor Edwards (C.O. 194/34, folio 100, PANL).
 80. Military Map Collection. Copied by Cha^s Verron, Feb. 23rd, 1796 (MG14 # 407, PANL).
 81. Account of the Great Guns, Carriages, Small arms, Ammunition to be shipped onboard His Majesty's Ship *Comet* for the Out Ports Northward of Saint John's (G.N. 2/1a, Volume 22, folio 289, PANL).
 82. Report on the State of Defence of the Harbours to the Northward of St. John's in the Island of Newfoundland - Visited by His Majesty's Ship *Comet* by order of His Excellency the Governor. Report compiled by Theo. Blanchard, Lieut. Royal Engineers. Assignment undertaken between July and October 1812 and is contained Report, Royal Engineers, Engineer's Office, St. John's/NF, 1811-16, GB 2/5, section on Carbonear, folios 173-74 (PANL).
 83. Ibid.

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84. “You are hereby required and directed to prepare for this purpose the Iron Ordnance, Carriages, and Small Arms detailed in the enclosed statement, together with the proper quantity of ammunition and Stores for the same, carefully packaged in separate parcels and labelled for each station respectively. The order went on to say that he was to prepare a list of materials needed, have them moved to the Ordnance Wharf as soon as possible and prepare to have them sent out.”

Dated 23 July 1812, Governor’s Orders to W. Phillips Acting Ordnance Storekeeper to supply Ordnance for the Out Ports (G.N. 2/1a Volume 23, folios 360-61, PANL).

85. Receipts for Arms at the Out Ports. List of Persons at the Out Harbours who have signed Receipts for the Arms (G.N. 2/1a, Volume 23, folios 61-62, PANL).
86. Taken from Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, Volume 2, pg. 970.
87. Report on Forts 1811-16 and 1827 (GB 2/5, PANL).
88. Edward G. Lloyd, Lieut. Royal Engineer, 9th January 1841. Military Map Collection (MG14 # 390, PANL).
89. Military Map Collection (MG14 # 401, PANL). A note on the plan reads: formerly W.O. 55/876, folio 498).
90. Letter written at Carbonear the 18th September, 1858 by ? Ryan (W.O. 55/1557 (8), folios 27-29. 15, 17, NAC).
91. Department of Fisheries, St. John’s, Newfoundland, 1905 (CNS, MUN).
92. Journal of the House of Assembly records (JHA), 1875 (1042, PT 2, CNS, MUN).
93. JHA records 1878(CNS, MUN).
94. Estimate of Cost of Maintenance for the year 1883 (JHA records, 676, 71, Appendix 112, CNS, MUN).
95. JHA records 1888 (CNS, MUN).
96. JHA records, 1890 (CNS, MUN).
97. JHA records, 1891 (CNS, MUN).

APPENDIX A

**Reference from W. Hedges of 1st December 1702 upon the Petition of Carbonier
relating to the State of that Harbour.**